





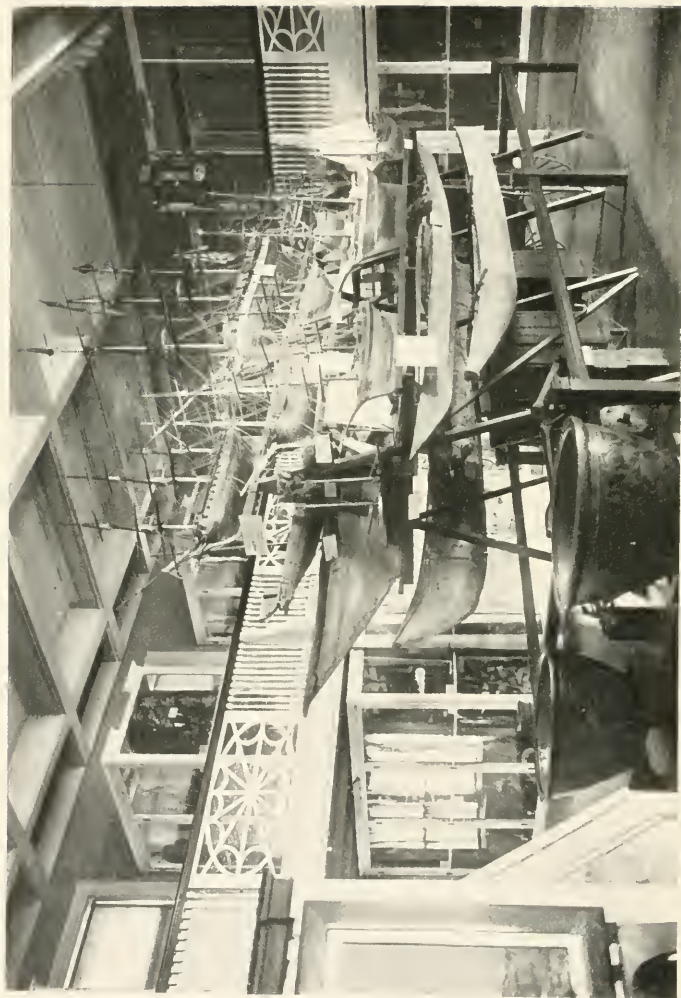
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Interior Peabody Academy of Science—Marine Hall.

Models of Frigate *Constitution* (1813); *Friendship* (1804); *Ohio* (1840); with other American vessels and foreign craft. Bath-tubs in the foreground, brought from the Indies a century ago.

The Old Shipmasters of Salem

With Mention of Eminent Merchants

By

Charles E. Trow

Author of "Prose and Verse," "Historical Sketches," etc.

They stood the storm when winds were rough,
But in a sunny hour fell off,
Like ships that have gone down at sea
When heaven was all tranquility.—MOORE.

G. P. Putnam's Sons

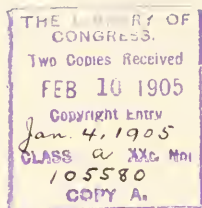
New York and London

The Knickerbocker Press

1905

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The Knickerbocker Press, New York

IN MEMORY OF
THE OLD-TIME SHIPMASTERS OF SALEM,
A CLASS OF MEN
TO WHOM, BECAUSE OF THEIR INTELLIGENCE,
INTEGRITY, AND SAGACITY,
CITIZENS OWE LASTING GRATITUDE,
THIS BOOK IS INSCRIBED

PREFACE

MY object in writing this book has been, primarily, to commemorate the characters of that rare class of men, the Master Mariners of Salem, who lived and flourished in the long ago. I do not claim to have given that biographical turn to my researches which might be expected in such a work, but my aim has been rather to take a broader view of things. I have, therefore, quoted from the old sea journals only that which would bear directly on the life and times which I have tried to describe. The records of many other captains are as noteworthy as those presented, but space would not allow more extended reference. To recount the brave deeds of all the old captains would require many volumes.

C. E. T.

SALEM, March 30, 1904.

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INTRODUCTION

BY CHARLES S. OSGOOD

THERE are but few of the streets in Salem that have witnessed such changes as the now somewhat dilapidated Derby Street. Once the court end of the town, with handsome houses lining its northern side, the homes of some of those who have made Salem famous in the annals of the country, it has passed through various vicissitudes of fortune until now it is like the scion of some aristocratic family who has run through his means and has taken to drink as a solace for his misfortunes.

The stranger in town will probably walk down Derby Street in search of reminiscences of Hawthorne. On the way he will pass the old house on the corner of Herbert Street, built in the old days of Richard

Derby, and which still retains a quaint exterior, somewhat fallen into decay, with its garden where the old-fashioned flowers, the hollyhock, the marigold, and the aster, grew in almost hopeless confusion, and with its "lean-to" covered with vines, hiding the brown clapboards, and making a picturesque and artistic picture. He will see the more pretentious house on the corner of Orange Street, formerly the residence of Benjamin W. Crowninshield, Madison's Secretary of the Navy, now occupied as a home for aged women. He will probably mount the steps of the Custom House, next door, to view the scene of Hawthorne's labors, an edifice built on the site of the mansion house of George Crowninshield, the owner of the famous privateer *America*, and whose son George made a trip to Europe in the yacht *Cleopatra's Barge*, the first American vessel to cross the ocean solely on a pleasure excursion. He will continue on until on the corner of Turner Street he will see the old Waters mansion, once the residence of one of Salem's old families, now the haven

of refuge of certain worthy old gentlemen, who, after being buffeted about on the ocean of life, have now drifted into this quiet eddy and are calmly and peacefully waiting for the next and last change in their earthly career. He will turn down Turner Street to see the "house of the seven gables." Far be it from me to suggest to the credulous stranger that any doubt exists as to this being the veritable house that was in the mind of the novelist when he wrote his famous story. Travelers are humbugged the world over, and these little romances rather add to the delights of travel.

But the visitor to Derby Street would have seen it at its best during the days of Salem's commercial prosperity with which it is intimately connected. Here at its wharves were docked the vessels which brought from all countries tributes to Salem. How like a dream it seems to the younger generations of Salem, this story of the old days, when Salem merchants almost monopolized the commerce with most of the far-away countries! Then the merchandise ware-

houses contained silks from India, tea from China, pepper from Sumatra, coffee from Arabia, spices from Batavia, gum copal from Zanzibar, hides from Africa, and numerous other products of the lands beyond the sea. This commercial activity began with the close of the War of the Revolution. When peace was declared, the merchants of Salem found themselves in possession of many large and swift-sailing vessels which had been built for use as privateers. These being too large to be profitably employed in the coasting trade, or on short voyages to other ports heretofore visited by Salem-ships, their owners determined to open to distant countries new avenues of trade and bring to Salem the products of lands lying in the remotest quarters of the globe. There was no lack of seamen to man the vessels. The young men of the town, fresh from service on the armed ships of Salem, were eager to embark in just such ventures as a voyage to unknown countries offered. They had served with Harraden in his daring exploits off the coast of Spain, and had been with

West when, in the darkness of night, he cut his prize out of a British harbor under the guns of the enemy. What wonder that, after wielding the cutlass and the boarding-pike, they were not contented to put their hands to the plow or to return to the daily drudgery of the workshop. The spirit of adventure was aroused, and the more dangerous and perilous the undertaking, the better it suited the temper of these wild and courageous graduates from the deck of the privateersman.

From the close of the War of the Revolution until the embargo in 1808, Salem was at the height of her commercial prosperity. The white sails of Salem's ships were unfurled in every port of the known world and carried the fame and name of Salem to the uttermost parts of the earth.

It was the young men of Salem that officered her ships, sailing as captains at an age when the boys of the present time are scarcely over their school days. At the beginning of one of the East India voyages of nineteen months, neither the captain

(Nathaniel Silsbee), nor his first mate (Chas. Derby), nor his second mate (Richard J. Cleveland) was twenty years old, and yet these boys carried ship and cargo safely to their destination, with imperfect mathematical instruments and with no charts but of their own making, and returned with a cargo which realized four or five times the original capital. With no power to communicate with home, the success of the undertaking was largely in the hands of these youthful captains. Their duty was not ended when the ship arrived safely in port, for upon their judgment and sagacity in buying and selling depended the profits of the voyage.

In those early days, when a vessel left Salem harbor, there was often nothing heard from her until after the lapse of a year or more she would come sailing back again. To-day the earth is girdled with the telegraph, and the arrival of a ship in a foreign harbor can be known at home almost within an hour of her reaching port. Then foreign prices were unknown and the result of a voyage might be splendid success or ruinous

disaster ; now a voyage is merely a passage from port to port with the market ascertained beforehand at either end.

When Captain Jonathan Carnes set sail for Sumatra in 1795, on his secret voyage for pepper, nothing was heard from him until eighteen months later he entered with a cargo of pepper in bulk, the first to be so imported into this country, and which sold at the extraordinary profit of seven hundred per cent. This uncertainty which hung over the fate of the ship and cargo lent a romantic interest to those early voyages which this age, with its telegraph and steamship, has destroyed.

Derby Street in the days of Salem's commerce was full of bustling activity. The wharves were crowded with vessels discharging their cargoes, gathered from all nations, or loading for another venture across the seas. Sailors fresh from the distant Indies were chatting on the street corners with companions about to depart thither, or were lounging about the doors of the sailor boarding-houses with that

indescribable air of disdain for all landmen which seems always to attach to the true rover of the seas. They were looked upon by the younger portion of the community with that curiosity which is so near akin to awe, with which we regard those about to start upon, or who have just returned from, some uncommonly perilous undertaking. The shops on Derby Street were full of strange and unique articles brought from distant lands. The parrot screamed at the open door, and in the back shop the monkey and other small denizens of foreign forests gamboled at will, sometimes escaping to the neighboring housetops, much to the delight of the small children who gathered to watch their capture with upturned faces and expressions of intense interest in the result of the chase.

Salem at that time was one of the principal points for the distribution of foreign merchandise, over eight million pounds of sugar being among the imports of the year 1800. The streets about the wharves were alive with teams loaded with goods for all

parts of the country. It was a busy scene with the coming and going of vehicles, some from long distances, for railroads were then unknown, and all transportation had to be carried on in wagons and drays. In the taverns could be seen teamsters from all quarters, sitting around the open fire in the chilly evenings, discussing the news of the day, or making merry over potations of New England rum, which Salem in the good old times manufactured in abundance.

All this has changed. The sail-lofts, where on the floor sat the sailmakers with their curious thimbles fastened to the palms of their hands, busily stitching the great white sheets of canvas that were to carry many a gallant ship safely through storm and tempest to her destination in far distant harbors, and that were to be reflected in seas before unvexed by the keel of an American vessel, are deserted or given over to more prosaic uses. The ship-chandlers' shops are closed, and the old mathematical-instrument maker has taken in his swinging sign of a quadrant, shut up his shop, and,

as if there were no further use for him here, has started on the long voyage from which there is no return. The foreign commerce of Salem, once her pride and glory, has spread its white wings and sailed away forever.

Although commerce has sought other ports and is no longer prosecuted here, the influence of the old-time merchants and shipmasters, whose energy and enterprise, whose daring and far-sightedness, made such an unparalleled chapter in the history of Salem, still lingers with us. Salem to-day owes to these men the high position she holds in the world of science. Their broad and liberal views, stimulated by contact with all nations, prepared their descendants for the good work which is now being carried on in her midst. Their rare and unique collection of curiosities, now in the possession of the Peabody Academy of Science, grows in importance each year, and is one of the principal points of interest to visitors. As such it will always remain, a perpetual monument to the far-seeing and

public-spirited merchants and shipmasters of Salem.

For the Derby Street of to-day not much can be said. Its glory is in the past. It has played its part in history and must now be content to remain as a commonplace thoroughfare, with nothing of interest about it but the memory of its better days. In this it does not differ from many a more famous street, whose changing fortunes have left it famous only in name.

The Story of the Old Shipmasters of Salem

CHAPTER I

The Early Commerce of Salem—Marine Society—East India Museum and Peabody Academy of Science—The Old By-Laws—Educational Advantages Offered.

AS early as 1750, Salem was the principal seaport in the Massachusetts Colony for successfully carrying on the East India trade. As a port, Boston was at that time of small importance as compared with Salem.

That the men who commanded the ships of that day represented a sturdy manhood and were possessed of unflagging energy, indomitable will, and undaunted courage, is patent to every one who has examined into their history, antecedents, and the events

connected with their lives. They sailed on every sea from the frigid to the torrid zones, and experienced all the vicissitudes incident to a seafaring life. Some of these captains commanded ships when they had barely attained their majority. Such a one was George Cabot—an ancestor of Henry Cabot Lodge—who was subsequently a member of the Provincial Congress, and later a United States Senator.

In Salem great interest was early shown in everything pertaining to the sea, and as a natural outcome the Salem Marine Society was formed. The petition to the General Court for its incorporation was presented by Jonathan Gardner and others, and the prayer of the petitioners was granted in 1772. The first article of the by-laws reads as follows:

“The members of this society shall consist of persons who now are or have been masters or commanders of vessels; and also of persons who now are or have been owners of vessels; provided, that no person shall be admitted as a member who has been eligible more than seven years, or is more

than forty years of age, except by a vote at a yearly meeting."

The object of the society was "to improve the knowledge of this coast by the several members upon their arrival from sea, communicating their observations, inwards and outwards, of the variation of the needle, soundings, courses, and distances, and all other remarkable things about it in writing; for the making of navigation more safe, and also to relieve one another and their families in poverty or other adverse accidents of life, which they are more particularly liable to, and have for this end raised a common stock."

Captain Perkins, of Topsfield, of whom more will be said, presented to the society the Franklin Building and the lot upon which it stood. It was demolished some fifty years ago and in its place an imposing structure was erected, which is to-day very valuable property. In this building the society have reserved rooms for their own occupancy, where the living members meet and keep their possessions. Captain William B. Bates

was for many years secretary of the society and custodian of the historical collections. Within the rooms are many interesting reminders of the past.

The East India Museum was founded in 1797. The membership of this society was restricted "to persons who have actively navigated the seas beyond the Cape of Good Hope or Cape Horn." Its primary objects were "to assist the widows and children of deceased members, to collect such facts and material as will tend to the improvement and security of navigation, and to establish a museum of curiosities of maritime interest and importance." The collections of rare articles were first deposited in the building on the corner of Essex and Washington streets; subsequently they were removed to the Salem Bank building, and, in 1825, to the East India Museum Hall, built especially for the society. In 1867 the building was sold to the Peabody Academy of Science. Although the shipmasters no longer conduct the Museum or make nautical observations, the charitable objects of the

society are fully carried out, as there is a large fund, the income of which is expended for that purpose.

The Peabody Academy of Science was organized in 1868, having received funds by gift from George Peabody of London, a native of Essex County, for the "promotion of science and useful knowledge in the county of Essex."

The Museum now connected with the above corporation, besides exhibiting the many curiosities to be found there, serves an educational purpose as well—it being a place to which the teachers of Essex County have access for the better qualifying of themselves for the important task of imparting knowledge to their pupils.

Some of the departments contain collections of animals, insects, minerals, prehistoric relics, plants, etc. These have all been catalogued, labeled, and systematically arranged. In the collections from foreign countries may be seen implements of war and utensils for domestic use, different specimens of art, statuary, pictures, marine

6 The Old Shipmasters of Salem

architecture, and other articles too numerous to mention. Many of these precious objects and mementos of departed days are still the property of the old Marine Society proprietors.

The Academy has at different times extended its usefulness by holding a summer school of biology. It also supports a course of lectures each year on natural history. Academy Hall, opened in 1886, is both neat and attractive. The number of visitors to the Museum during the past ten years has averaged annually about fifty thousand.

CHAPTER II

Glimpses of the Old Mariners—More of the By-Laws—Founders of the Marine Society—*Grand Turk* the First Salem Ship to Visit the East Indies—Importance of the Foreign Trade in 1790—How the Mate Got “Square” with the Captain—Captain Throws the Pilot Overboard.

THE Master Mariners’ characters, habits, with all those qualities which go to make up a well-rounded life, were largely formed by the discipline and experiences of an ocean life, and while they were battling with adverse elements, they were also studying into the intricacies of logarithms and mathematical calculations, mapping out their course on a chart, and, not the least of all, disposing of their cargoes—if not consigned—and purchasing merchandise for home shipment. Their varied duties gave them larger business ideas than were usually gained in the counting-room. Doubtless at times they were autocratic and lofty

in their bearing, but way down beneath the surface a warm spot could always be found by those with whom they came in contact, and a kindly feeling often bubbled up as naturally and spontaneously as the waters from a crystal spring. Their apparent reserve was developed by enforced seclusion from the outer world, and by incessant communing with their own thoughts. They were not unappreciative, however, of service rendered, nor were they insensible to the delights of social life. They could spin yarns by the yard, or crack jokes when occasion required, with the greatest gusto imaginable. That they rendered important service in their day and generation, not only commercially, but in the War of the Revolution and that of 1812, cannot be denied. They had correct business habits, hence their transactions rarely resulted in litigation. As an illustration of their manner of doing things, it is interesting to refer to the following article in the by-laws of the Marine Society:

“To provide for the relief of any mem-

bers or their widows, who may be reduced by misfortune; and also for the investment of the money of the society in no other manner than in bond with collateral security of land, under a good title and without incumbrance, and at least double the value of the sum let; as near Salem as may be, and lying within the province.”

Judging from another by-law, the Mariners evidently considered card-playing and swearing to be mischievous and dangerous practices:

“That no member of the society shall at the monthly meetings play or promote the playing of cards, dice or other gaming whatsoever, as it is probable the same may be of damage to themselves or some others of the society. That if any member of this society be guilty of profane swearing or cursing, or non-attendance of the monthly meetings, he shall for each of said offences pay to the box one shilling.”

Another article refers to individual members “quarreling and disputing with one another,” and provision is made for the

“reference of such disputes to the society, in order that they be decided with more equity and much less cost.” The inference is that courts and lawyers were held in wholesome dread by the Master Mariners, and yet the records show that they were not backward in consulting proper legal advice when they could not otherwise settle matters.

The early meetings of the society were held at the houses of the members, that of Captain Jonathan Webb being frequently spoken of in the reports of meetings. In 1790, the society “voted to meet hereafter at the house of Samuel Robinson,” innholder, and in 1793 “in General Abbot’s long room.” In 1807, a hall was rented, but in 1814 the Essex Coffee-House became their meeting-place and continued to be for some time.

During the Revolutionary period, the society lapsed into a state of inactivity, as was natural, for nearly all its members were engaged in the war. When peace came, however, the by-laws were amended by

Congressman Benjamin Goodhue, and large numbers joined, so that in 1800 the membership reached two hundred and twenty-five. The society has always been patriotic. One hundred and two of its members served in the Revolutionary War, forty-eight in the War of 1812, six in both the wars named, and four in these wars and also in the naval war with France. Nearly all the members who entered the wars served either as commanders or in other official capacities. They were marked men wherever they went, and always commanded respect.

Among the founders of the Marine Society were Habakkuk and Dr. Nathaniel Bowditch (father and son); George Cabot, the close friend of Washington and of Hamilton; George and Jacob Crowninshield, the renowned merchants; Daniel Hawthorne; Joseph Lee, who liberally endowed the McLean Asylum, and who was the modeler of the *Caravan*, the vessel that took the first missionaries to India; William Gray, who served as Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts; William Orne, one of the

noted philanthropists of his time; and many others who have left their impress on the early history of the country.

The *Grand Turk*, commanded by Eben West, was the first ship from New England to visit the Isle of France, India, and China. She cleared from Salem, November 25, 1785, and returned in June, 1787, with a cargo of tea, silks, and nankeens, having made a most prosperous voyage. More tea was landed in Salem that year than in any subsequent year. Of fifteen vessels in Canton in 1789, five of them hailed from Salem, and all but one belonged to Elias Hasket Derby.

The brig *William and Henry*, Captain Benjamin Hodges, owned by Gray & Orne, arrived in Salem in 1790 with a cargo of tea, which was among the first of such cargoes imported in an American vessel. Seventy-three ships, eleven barks, and forty-eight brigs sailed from Salem in 1806, all engaged in the foreign trade. In 1807, about the same tonnage was represented in the same trade. Many of these vessels were built in Salem.

To give an idea of the commercial importance of Salem, we must refer to the amount collected in imposts for the United States Government from 1789 to 1870, which foots up to \$25,000,000. From 1801 to 1810, inclusive, the duties collected amounted to \$7,272,633.31. In 1825 and 1826, a little brig of 223 tons (the *Leander*) landed cargoes from Canton, which paid duties amounting respectively to \$86,847.47 and \$92,392.94. A ship of 287 tons (the *Sumatra*, Captain Charles Roundy), in 1829, 1830, and 1831, brought cargoes from Canton to Salem, paying duties as follows: in the first case, \$128,363.13; in the second, \$138,480.34; and in the third, \$140,761.96—the five voyages paying to the Government the grand total of nearly \$587,000! These vessels were owned by the late Joseph Peabody, an eminent merchant; who for many years did a thriving business in the foreign trade. The tide of commerce, however, finally turned in another direction, and yet the coasting trade was small during the early history of Salem as compared with

that of to-day. The custom-house, as has been well said by a gentleman conversant with the old-time maritime industry, "is no longer the depository of invoices of the rich and varied products of the East, and the name of the surveyor has ceased to be sent abroad marked on bales of merchandise, as Hawthorne once said he smiled to think was to be the case with his."

There were many quaint things said and done by the shipmasters. Captain L—— had a first mate who was at times addicted to the use of strong drink, and occasionally, as the slang saying has it, "got full." The ship was lying in a port in China, and the mate had been on shore and had there indulged rather freely in some of the vile compounds common in Chinese ports. He came on board, "drunk as a lord," and thought he had a mortgage on the whole world. The captain, who rarely ever touched liquors himself, was greatly disturbed by the disgraceful conduct of his officer, particularly as the crew had all observed his condition. One of the duties of



Captain Frederick Johnson, Master of the Ship *Restless*.

the first officer is to write up the "log" each day, but as that worthy was not able to do it, the captain made the proper entry, but added: "The mate drunk all day." The ship left port the next day and the mate got "sobered off." He attended to his writing at the proper time, but was appalled when he saw what the captain had done. He went on deck, and soon after the following colloquy took place:

"Cap'n, why did you write in the log yesterday that I was drunk all day?"

"It was true, was n't it?"

"Well, 'lowing 't was, it was a bad thing to say about me."

"It was true, was n't it?"

"Yes, but what will the owners say if they see it? 'T will hurt me with them."

But the mate could get nothing more from the captain than, "It was true, was n't it?"

The next day, when the captain was examining the book, he found at the bottom of the mate's entry of observation, course, winds, and tides: "The captain

sober all day." He went on deck in high dudgeon, met the mate—who saw that a storm was brewing—and then another dialogue took place as follows:

"What did you mean, you rascal, by writing in the log that I was 'sober all day,' yesterday?"

"It was true, was n't it, Cap'n?"

"You know I never drink liquors, and am always sober, and of course it was true."

The captain, upon second thought, realized that the whole thing was a huge joke, and his cooler judgment reasserting itself, he desisted from further questioning of the mate.

If there was any one thing the shipmasters were distinguished for above everything else, it was in assuming a certain degree of superiority over the common run of mind and matter. They were sovereigns on the sea, and why not on the land, was, doubtless, a pertinent query with them. In the realm in which their lot was cast they knew no baffling forces beyond winds and tides, hence they did not easily brook opposition or defeat. If failings they had, this

characteristic was one of their greatest faults, but, like the character immortalized by Goldsmith,

“Their failings leaned to virtue’s side.”

In this connection it may not be inappropriate to relate a brief story of one of the captains who was a man of stalwart frame and a strict disciplinarian on board his ship. He was leaving a port in a tropical sea in company with another ship, and it soon became a trial of speed between the two vessels. Seeing that his opponent was slightly gaining on him, he began to grow uneasy lest his ship, which was considered a very fast sailer, should get the worse of it. Moreover, he had not discharged his negro pilot, a creature of amphibious tendency, as is common with the natives of warm climates. The captain was pacing the quarter-deck, and it was noticed that he had a sheath knife in his hand. Suddenly he sprang to the taffrail and cut the painter of the pilot’s dinghy, and without pausing for a moment seized the pilot and threw him overboard.

CHAPTER III

Were the Shipmasters Superstitious?—Goat in the Foretop—Both
“Watches” in Mortal Terror—Story Telling, Witticisms, and
Practical Jokes—Captain Tucker’s “Yarn”—The Haunted Sailor—
Ghost of his Former Shipmate.

THE sterling worth of the old captains is not overestimated in these chapters. “But they were superstitious,” says the ascetic, whose mentality is circumscribed by dwarfed ideas of men and things. It is doubtless true that they believed in omens and prognostics, and possibly had a reverential dread of the mystic or unknown; yet they were far from being fanatical. It may be that they believed in the direct interposition of supernatural powers in certain extraordinary events. It can, however, be truthfully said of them that whatever they had to accomplish, first and foremost was the controlling thought:

“On reason build resolve,
That column of true majesty in man.”

It is quite true that sea life is not now wholly divested of the belief in old-time evil omens, and to-day it holds good, as formerly, that if a shark follow a ship for several days it is a sure sign that some one of the crew will soon die or other disaster follow. Many dark superstitions, however, in the light of a broader education, have been swept away, on the sea as well as on the land.

The goat in the "foretop" of the ship *Ringleader* will serve to illustrate the belief in ghosts by sailors. This story is a true one and was told by one who can vouch for its authenticity. The *Ringleader* at the time was in command of Captain Richard Matthews of Salem. One dark, stormy night, all hands were called to shorten sail. Orders were given in quick succession to let go the topgallant halyards and to clew up fore and aft, and to let go the foretopsail halyards. The watch on deck sprang into the shrouds to furl the foretopgallant-sail, but they had only reached the foretop when they turned and came down precipitately,

some by the halyards on the run. The mate asked what the matter was, but received nothing more than some incoherent mumblings from the sailors about a ghost. He ordered them up again, supplemented with expletives which no refined society would tolerate.

They would not budge an inch. So the other watch was ordered up, but with the same result. The mate then thought he would go up himself and find out what the matter really was. He ascended as far as the foretop, as the rest had done, and stopped. He also saw a ghost or some supernatural object, and was about turning to come down, when his ears were greeted with a familiar cry. He at once fathomed all the trouble ; it was the voice of the old billy-goat, a regular passenger and the butt of all the fun and pastime on board. He had ensconced himself in the coil of the foretopsail halyards, and when they were let go, he suddenly went up in the coil of rope without even a murmur of disapproval, and had lodged safely where he was found.

A rope was quickly bent onto him and he was lowered to the deck. It was a narrow escape for Mr. Capricorn. On the same voyage, the *Ringleader*, while butting into a heavy cross-sea, "scooped in" over her bows a shark, which was brought home and can now be seen in the Museum.

Story-telling, witticisms, and practical jokes were not infrequently enjoyed by the Master Mariners. In 18—, a Salem ship was in the harbor of Batavia waiting for a cargo, and as time was hanging heavily on the hands of her master, Captain L——, he visited a place of amusement one evening by way of diversion, and there met with an astute French captain, whose egotism and national pride knew no bounds. He frequently drifted off into the Munchausen in his glorification of his native land, and the city of Paris in particular, portraying, as with the brush of an artist, the beautiful parks and public squares of that city.

"That is nothing compared with my native city, Salem," blurted out Captain L——. "We have a 'Common' encircled by a

double row of trees one hundred and fifty feet in height and ten feet through their trunks. Tropical flowers bloom the year round in this magnificent inclosure. I saw a man take a ladder one day and go to the center of the Common, and what do you suppose he did ? ”

“ Me no tell, monsieur. Me ask you.”

“ Well, he raised the ladder up to a perpendicular position, and then went to the top of it,” replied the captain.

“ Ah ! oh ! my ! vat more duz him do ? ”

“ He pulled the ladder up after him, and then went to the top again.”

At this last remark from the captain the Frenchman subsided and appeared to be in a meditative state of mind; and it was not known for a certainty whether he took exception to the captain’s statements, or was really trying to figure out mentally the specific gravity and staying qualities of the man, ladder, and surrounding atmosphere.

Captain Tucker was, to outward appearance, a rough-cast man, but beneath his old pea-jacket—which was rarely thrown off for

a finer coat—a truer heart never beat. In a word, he was careless about his personal appearance. Being in Bombay, the port to which his cargo was consigned, he met two Salem captains, one of whom remarked: “Captain Tucker, why don’t you spruce up a little when you come ashore?”

“What’s the use? Nobody knows me here,” was the rejoinder.

Somewhat over a year afterwards the same captains met Captain Tucker on Essex Street, Salem, on his arrival from a voyage, and the former remark: “Why don’t you spruce up when in port?” was addressed to him.

“Everybody knows me here, and what’s the use dressing up?” was the prompt reply.

The captain’s friends saw that he was incorrigible, and they ever after refrained from remarking on his personal appearance.

Some of those who had commanded ships, after quitting the sea, settled down upon small farms in the suburbs of Salem, and their chief delight and occupation was in visiting the village grocery, where they often

spun their yarns to the wonderment of the country folk. They told of ghosts, of pirates, of storms and of shipwreck, and of many other perils of the sea. One evening Captain T—— launched forth with some of his experiences. Said he: “I touched at Patagonia on one of my voyages, and I ever after gave that latitude a wide berth. In a few minutes after we had dropped anchor our deck was alive with Patagonians, and I tell you they were strapping fellows—about eight feet high. They walked around as independently as though they owned my ship, even to the last gang-plank. They were chewing tobacco, and, I dare say, each one had half a pound of the weed in his mouth. But this was not the worst of it. They spit upon my deck, which had been holystoned as white as snow, and every time they let fly the filthy liquid it made a spot as big as the top of that stove” (pointing to one about two feet across the top).

“Did you say anything?” interposed an old farmer.

“What the d——I could I say under the

circumstances? They were a wicked looking set and had but one eye, and that was in the center of their forehead."

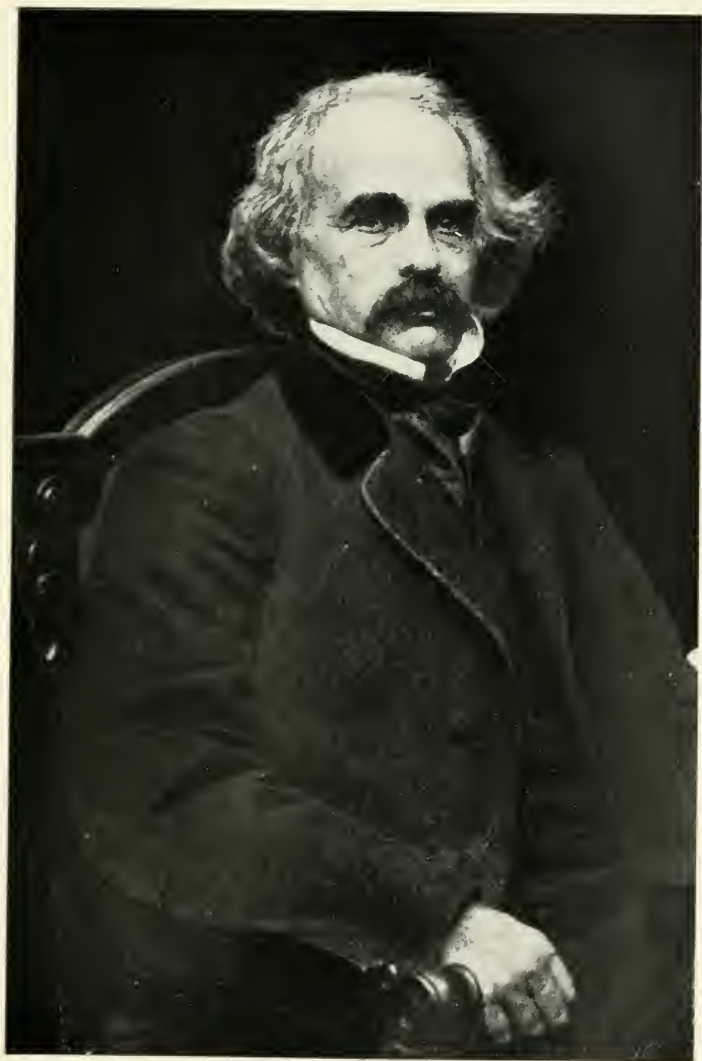
"Guess they could n't wear 'specks' very well," interposed an incredulous matter-of-fact man, who sat upon a flour barrel drumming the sides with his heels. This remark rather started the captain's ire, who said: "I wish you'd been there and seen their piercing eye, you would n't talk about 'specks'! You'd have been scared clear to your toes and jumped overboard, I dare say."

The captain's stories were not all extravaganzas. But, granting that they were, they served a purpose, and usually were nothing more than simple raillery to "take out the conceit" of some presumptuous "land-lubber."

Speaking again of ghosts, an old sailor recently told the following story, the facts of which came under his personal observation. Tom—for by this name he will be designated—sailed from Salem for Sumatra in 1838, in the ship *Sumatra*, Captain Peter

Silver being in command. Among the crew was a strange, eccentric fellow whom nobody could fathom, for the reason that he appeared to be at all times beyond "soundings." He was reticent and manifested a morbid condition of mind, and never entered into that jollity which at times obtains on shipboard, even under stress of weather, or a short allowance of "grub." Another peculiarity of Jack Breton was his desire to have some one in his company. He never would, if he could possibly help it, remain on any part of the deck or in the rigging alone at night. If the order were given to "lay aloft" in the night to make or shorten sail, he, invariably, was the last one to leave the deck.

While the ship was lying in the port of Callao, on the voyage in question, an "anchor watch" was set and Tom had occasion to call Jack to relieve him. Neither entreaties nor threats could induce him to go on deck until the mate had helped him along with the toe of his boot. Jack was in a tremor of fright and his condition induced Tom



Nathaniel Hawthorne.

Born July 4, 1804. Died May 19, 1864. Surveyor of Port of
Salem (1846-1849).

From a photograph by Brady.

to remain with him, but he gave no reason for his strange conduct.

Going on shore the next day, Tom in his rambles fell in with some men-of-war's men from an American frigate lying in port. One thing led to another, and in some way Tom incidentally alluded to Jack Breton, his eccentricities, etc. One of the party, an intelligent fellow, after reflecting a moment, said that he thought he knew Breton, and he felt almost sure that he could give his history, which might account for the man's oddities.

"It was twenty odd years ago," began the man-of-war's man, "that a boy named Jack Breton sailed with me in an American man-of-war. He was idolized by the crew, and one man in particular named Crozier was the boy's constant companion. For 'Jacky,' as he used to call him, he would, with his needle, make fancy stitching on his shirt collars, work 'Turk's heads,' and teach him how to tie fancy knots. His life seemed to be bound up in that of the boy.

"It was in this very port," continued the

narrator, "that a crime was committed which probably made Breton, if I am right in the man, what you represent him to be. Crozier and a shipmate got liberty to go on shore, which privilege they availed themselves of, taking Jack, the boy, with them. I remained, with others of the crew, on board. The next morning the port was all astir with the report that an American sailor had been murdered the previous night, but, as a matter of course, the crime was laid to some desperado of the native population.

"Crozier and his companions not having reported on shipboard, an officer from the frigate went on shore to see if he could find any trace of them. About noon he came across Crozier, but there was a wildness in his eyes and something in his demeanor which puzzled the officer. He could get nothing definite from him as to the whereabouts of his two companions. The officer returned to the ship with Crozier, and another officer and several of the crew went on shore to search for the lost ones. At last it was thought that the sailor reported

murdered might be the missing seaman. On visiting the authorities, all doubts were removed. The man was found with his skull crushed. But where was the boy? He was found two days after concealed in a warehouse on the wharf. No information about the murder could be elicited from him, and when taken to the ship he cried bitterly. To make a long story short, a confession, through threats of punishment, was extorted from him. His story was that Crozier and his shipmate got into a drunken quarrel, when the first-named struck him on the head with a stone. The boy tried in every way to shield Crozier, and there is no doubt that the latter did not know, in his drunken obliviousness, that he had killed his shipmate. A court-martial was convened, and Crozier was sentenced to be hanged at the yard-arm. As he passed by the boy, on his way to execution, he said to him:

“‘You have sworn my life away, and I will never leave you as long as you live!’”

Tom parted with his new-made friend,

who had related the strange tale, and who promised to visit the *Sumatra* the following morning to see if the Breton he had once known and the one on board were one and the same. When he came on deck, almost the first man he saw was Breton, and turning to Tom he said in a whisper:

“That ’s the man !”

Breton tried to avoid his old shipmate, but when he found that he was recognized he talked freely over old times, and informed him how true Crozier had been to his word, declaring that he could not be alone for a moment without seeing him, and that he always appeared in a defiant, threatening attitude.

CHAPTER IV

The Manifold Mysteries of the Sea—Story of Captain Frederick Johnson, about the Man who Left the Ship *Restless* on a Raft in the Night—News of the Death of Washington Received—The Shipmasters Prominent in the Funeral Procession.

THE verities of life to those who “go down to the sea in ships” establish the fact that there is hardly anything connected with the “wild waste of waters” too extravagant or too absurd to believe. Captain John S. Sleeper’s old-time *Tales of the Ocean* may appear to some as extravaganzas, yet those stories of adventure reflect in every syllable and word the spirit of truth. There is always a fascination about the ocean and its deep, unfathomable mysteries ; therefore, it is not strange that many dreamers, as they sit by their own quiet firesides and pore over the stories of those who have battled with wind and wave, become infatuated with the desire to leave home and

friends to brave the hardships and dangers so inseparably connected with a seafaring life. To them the ocean loses none of its charms, although they may read from day to day of storm and disaster upon its broad bosom, and have a realizing sense of the truth embodied in the lines of the poet :

“ He that in venturous barks hath been
A wanderer on the deep,
Can tell of many an awful scene
Where storms forever sweep.”

Notwithstanding all this, air-castles will still be built, and the spirit of adventure continue to animate the human mind. In connection with this line of thought, Captain Frederick Johnson once related a story concerning one of his voyages to China in the ship *Restless*. On the outward voyage the ship touched at the Isle of France. The days went by and nothing of unusual interest occurred until the Java coast came in view. The usual story-telling and singing took place of an evening among the sailors as they were seated upon boxes or sea-chests in the fore-castle. Among the

number was a good-looking young English sailor who entertained those about him on the evening in question with a picture of the easy life one could lead by ingratiating himself into the good graces of some tribal chief on shore and marrying his daughter. The rough treadmill life he and his associates were leading was given due attention. He seemed to long for change, but he doubtless little dreamed of those

“Fierce extremes, extremes by change more fierce,”

as his thoughts strayed out to the dimly outlined land which appeared like an island in that distant summer sea on which he sailed. After the watch below had joined in the song “Rocked in the Cradle of the Deep,” all “turned in” to dream of home and the loved ones there. At midnight, the Englishman, with others, relieved the watch on deck. It was a clear still night, with scarcely a breath of wind, and no sound was heard, save that produced by the sails as they lazily flapped to and fro, and the dull monotone of the ropes running back and

forth in the blocks. It was a night in which dreamers give up to dreams and build air-castles.

The red streaks of morning were at last painted on the eastern sky, the watch below had been called, but where was Benson, the English sailor? The man at the wheel, it was also learned, had not been relieved by him. Search was at once instituted, but no trace of him could be found anywhere on the ship. The mate sharply questioned the watch, thinking that violence had been used in connection with the sudden disappearance of Benson. Every nook and corner of the ship, both above and below, was searched, but without satisfactory result. One sailor went into the fore-castle to renew investigations, and upon opening the chest of the missing man found that his best clothing and some books were gone. This was a clue. He reported his discovery to the captain. Another said that Benson must be aloft, but the thought, doubtless, did not occur to him as to what he (Benson) could possibly want of his

books there. He was not satisfied, however, until he had gone up to the fore- and main-tops and made thorough search.

At this juncture the ship's carpenter made his appearance and reported that two of his heavy planks and several joists which he had taken from the hold to the deck for repairs on the previous day were missing. Here was another and more promising clue, by which the great mystery was to be unraveled. It was now definitely settled that the man had constructed a raft in his watch and had noiselessly lowered it over the side of the ship and made good his escape. This theory was substantiated by pieces of rope which were found near the location of the missing plank.

The foolhardy embarkation of Benson on the wide ocean with but a few planks between himself and death seemed appalling to his shipmates. Conjectures as to what prompted the venture were rife. His former associates on shipboard held various and conflicting views. One said that Benson was "gone on a woman" in the Isle of

France, and that he had escaped from the ship hoping to find passage back to the object of his adoration. Another averred that the reading of fictitious works had turned his head and made him crazy. The third "spokesman" advanced, apparently, a more reasonable theory, and that was, that he had gone to seek his fortune and a life of ease among the natives on shore, and cited, to strengthen his point, the missing man's desire to marry some chieftain's daughter, and thus rise to fame and importance. The captain was unwilling to proceed on his voyage until all hope of finding his missing seaman was gone, hence he ran "off and on" during the entire forenoon, before he gave orders to square and brace up the yards, and make sail for his destined port.

About six months after the incident related above, the *Restless*, on her return voyage, made the port of Sumatra, to see if any tidings of Benson had been found. From the American Consul it was learned that a man bearing his description, but who gave his name as Brown, had been found

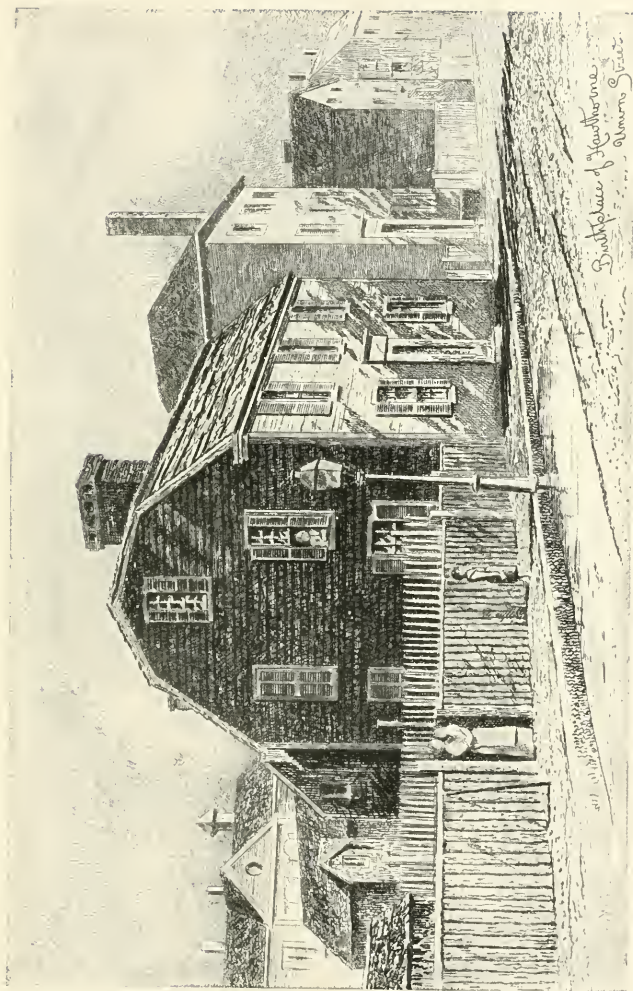
soon after Benson's disappearance from the ship by some boatmen at a point along the coast. He was entirely stripped of his clothing, and was in a nearly starving condition. He said that he was a castaway sailor, and related his experience with the natives. Preparations were being made to kill him when he made his escape. As no American vessel was in port at the time, the consul had sent Benson to Holland in a Dutch ship.

The experiences of those who follow the sea for a livelihood are many and varied, as has been said. Meeting with Captain George Upton one day, he soon drifted off into story-telling. "There was one little incident," said he, "which happened on one of my voyages which somewhat amused me, being, as it was, an illustration of the prying curiosity of English shipmasters." The captain continued:

"Many years ago (1838), when I was in command of the bark *Chalcedony*, while passing from the N. E. to the S. E. trade winds in north latitude near the equator

—a track of ocean known to navigators as the ‘doldrums,’—we were flying a kite from the mizzenmast-head, for the amusement of some children who were passengers. While they were enjoying this diversion, we fell in with an English ship. They sent a boat on board in charge of the first mate, apparently for some special purpose, but what it was did not at first appear. The officer in charge asked me if we could spare him some tobacco, which was supplied him. His movements, with a frequent glance aloft, convinced us that the ‘tobacco’ was not the object of his visit. After a little hesitation he addressed himself to me with an inquiry about the kite flying over our stern, saying: ‘Will you please tell me the object or use of that?’ I informed him that it was flying to please the children. ‘Thank you,’ said he; ‘our captain sent me on board to ascertain its use, thinking it was some contrivance to get the longitude, you Americans are so full of inventions.’”

Salem was deeply stirred on receipt of the news of the death of Washington. A



Hawthorne's Birthplace, Union Street, Salem, Mass.

public meeting was held and an address sent to the "respectable Marine Society of the town of Salem," with the request that they would concur and unite with the citizens in some public demonstration. The address closed with the significant words: "The concurrence and assistance of the Marine Society are peculiarly requisite on this occasion." The address was signed by John Page, John Punshard, and Jonathan Waldo of the Military Society.

The first intelligence of Washington's death was brought by a passenger on the stage from New York, and was received in Salem on Monday evening, December 23d. The next day, by order of the selectmen, the bells were tolled at sunrise, the shipping displayed their colors at half-mast, minute-guns were fired on the Common by a detachment of artillery, and business was generally suspended. The pupils of Mrs. Rogers, a celebrated teacher, wore a badge of mourning presented by her, consisting of a rosette and bracelet with the initials, "G. W.," in a circle with a heart appended.

A town meeting was held on Monday, December 30, at which it was voted to "adopt suitable measures to testify our deep sorrow for the loss the community has sustained by the death of General Washington." It was also voted:

"That the town will erect an handsome and durable monument to the memory of General Washington, and that the committee before named be directed to ascertain the expense necessary for this purpose."

The funeral honors were paid on Thursday, January 2, 1800, by a public procession formed as follows: The town officers, the Marine Society, the clergy of the town, with the orator, Rev. Dr. Bentley; the Independent Company of Cadets, Abel Lawrence, commander, acting as escort. The procession moved through several streets to the North Meeting-house, which then stood on the corner of North and Lynde streets, where the Rev. Mr. Barnard "addressed the Almighty in a suitable, pathetic, and affecting prayer, and the Rev. Dr. Bentley pronounced an elegant and

classical eulogy.” During the moving of the procession minute-guns were fired by a detachment of Captain Gould’s artillery.

The Marine Society, as stated by a newspaper writer of that day, was a very conspicuous feature in the funeral procession. And a subsequent writer adds, in noting the occasion: “Those shipmasters of the old school were a sturdy race, faithful and fearless, and their stalwart forms and rolling gait and weather-beaten countenances—with the remembrance of their experiences—could not fail to make a sensation, even in those days when such sights and reminiscences were as familiar as household words. Many of them had been distinguished naval heroes in the War of the Revolution, and all were of a type and mold now nearly obliterated by the changes and triumphs of the advancing years. A daguerreotype view of the society as it appeared on that day would now be a treasure well worth preserving, but Daguerre was then a school-boy and his valuable art was all unknown.”

Thirteen years later the Marine Society

42 The Old Shipmasters of Salem

again appeared in a public procession, at the funeral of the commander and lieutenant of the *Chesapeake*, killed in the fight with the *Shannon*, of which an account is given in another chapter.

CHAPTER V

The Codfish a Potent Factor in the Early Commerce—Importance of Salem, Commercially, as Compared with Boston—Some of the Prominent Merchants—Captain Thomas Perkins's Munificent Gift—Where the Old Captains Meet.

SALEM began a trade with the West India Islands in 1670, and with the Leeward Islands somewhat earlier. The staple export was dried codfish, the vessels returning with cargoes of sugar, molasses, etc. Fish were very plentiful in Massachusetts Bay in "ye early times"; in fact, Salem's harbor and rivers swarmed with them, and it is hardly possible to doubt that dried codfish first gave Salem her maritime importance.

Trading with the West Indies first gave the early settlers an idea of the advantages to be derived from commerce. They saw that the exchanging of their products for those of other nations was an industry upon

which would eventually hinge the growth and development, not only of their own immediate communities, but of the whole country. Yes, it was the codfish that played an important part in promoting the growth of Salem, and not only Salem, but every seaboard town and city in New England! Is it, then, a matter of wonder that an effigy of that fish is suspended in a conspicuous place in the Massachusetts House of Representatives? One of the wealthiest of Salem's old-time merchants—Benjamin Pickman—had such an affection and affinity—no pun meant—for the cod, in remembrance, it is presumed, of what that fish had been to him in the accumulation of his riches, that he caused to be painted on the sides of the stairs in the front hall of his house exact representations of it. This house was built in 1750, after the old Colonial style, and it stands to-day in the rear of a store on Essex Street, near the East India Museum building.

The importance of Salem about the beginning of the last century, and for years after,

was such as to give the Indies and other distant countries the impression that it was the largest port of the United States. It is related as a fact that one of the native merchants of Calcutta had a map suspended on the walls of his office upon which were only two names, Salem and Boston, and that the word Salem stretched nearly across the map, while Boston was designated by a mere dot.

From the close of the Revolutionary War to the embargo preceding the War of 1812, the commercial prosperity of Salem was at its height. The three most prominent merchants of that period were Elias Hasket Derby, William Gray, and Joseph Peabody. The larger part of the shipping of Salem was in their possession, their ships were found on almost every sea, and cargoes from distant climes found a port of entry at Salem. As has been well said: "They"—the shipmasters and merchants—"made the name of Salem familiar wherever trade penetrated or civilization ventured."

Captain Reynolds, who made a tour round

the world in the United States ship *Potomac*, writing of Salem in 1835, says:

“When peace arrived and our independence was acknowledged, the merchants of Salem were among the first to explore new channels of trade, disdaining to confine themselves to the narrow track of a Colonial commerce. With a few erroneous maps and charts, a sextant, and Guthrie’s Grammar, they swept round the Cape of Good Hope, exhausted the markets of the isles of France and Bourbon, and, pushing onward, entered the Straits of Babel-mandeb and secured the trade of the Red Sea. They brought from Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay the best of their staples, and had their choice of the products of Ceylon and Sumatra.”

The enterprise, keen sense of right, and honor of the old merchant princes suggest the truth and application of that maxim of Bacon’s:

“I hold every man a debtor to his profession, from the which as men of course do seek to receive countenance and profit, so

ought they of duty to endeavor themselves by way of amends to be a help and ornament thereunto."

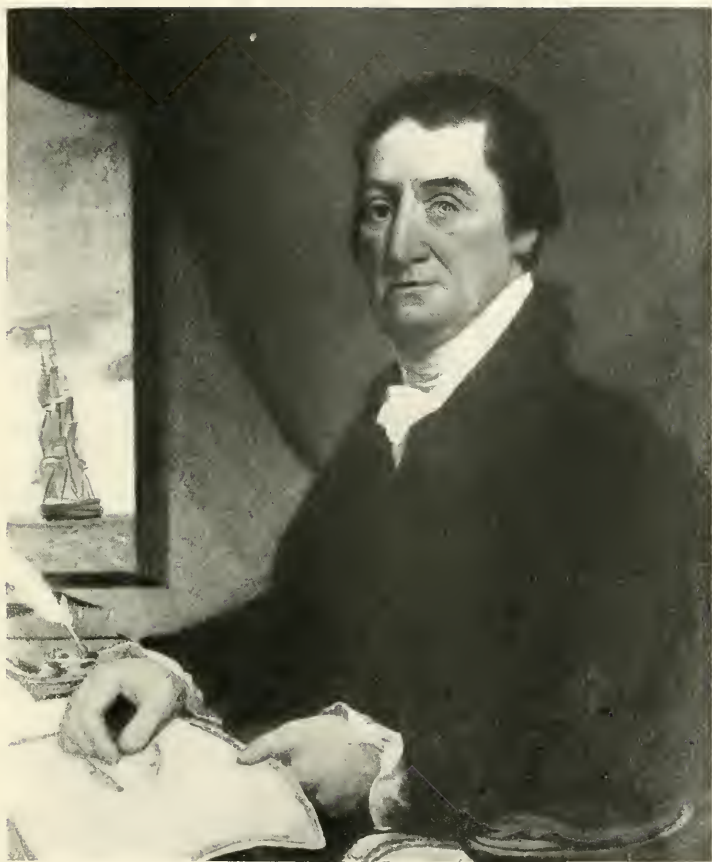
They were not only an ornament to their profession or calling, but were ever mindful of the multifarious duties imposed upon them, and kept their honor bright by a faithful discharge of the same.

Captain Philip English was among the early and more prominent shipmasters and merchants of Salem. Captain English was born in the Isle of Jersey, and came to Salem about the year 1670, and in 1675 he married the daughter of William Hollingworth, a Salem merchant. He soon entered commercial pursuits, and prospered to such an extent that he built the grandest house in all Salem. His wife was over-elated by their prosperity and forgot her humble friends of former days; she was called "aristocratic," and the prejudice thus engendered against her doubtless led to her being "cried out against" for witchcraft. Both Mr. English and his wife were thus accused. From 1694 to 1720, Mr. English sent vessels to New-

foundland, Cape Sable, or Acadia to catch fish, and shipped the products of this enterprise to Barbadoes, Surinam, Spain, and other countries. Captain Richard Derby, soon after the retirement of Mr. English, became a shipmaster, trading with Cadiz, Malaga, and other foreign ports. He subsequently settled down as a merchant.

Dr. Edward A. Holyoke, writing of the commerce of Salem in 1749, says: "The commerce of this town was chiefly with Spain and Portugal and the West Indies, especially with Eustatia. The schooners were employed on the fishing banks in the summer, and in the autumn were laden with fish, rum, molasses, and the produce of the country, and sent to Virginia and Maryland, and there spent the winter retailing their cargoes, and in return brought corn and wheat and tobacco."

Elias Hasket Derby in 1775 cast in his lot with the Colonists and fitted out many privateers. Later on Mr. Derby was prosperous and accumulated a large property—nearly a million dollars—in his maritime



Elias Hasket Derby (1739-1799).

One of his ships (*Grand Turk*) in the distance. He was a pioneer in the East India trade, and at the time of his death was reputed to be the richest man in the United States.

ventures. The ship *Grand Turk* in 1784 made the first voyage to the Cape of Good Hope. She was in command of Captain Jonathan Ingersoll.

William Gray flourished during the later years of Mr. Derby's business career. He was born in Lynn in 1760, but removed to Salem at an early age. In 1805 he was probably the largest shipowner in the country and traded extensively with Canton and ports in India. Salem had at this time in active service fifty-four ships, eighteen barks, seventy-two brigs, and eighty-six schooners, five ships building, and forty-eight vessels "round the cape."

Captain Joseph Peabody was a successful shipmaster and merchant. He was born in Middleton in 1757. He sailed in E. H. Derby's *Bunker Hill*, which vessel did service as a privateer in the Revolutionary War. In 1782 he made a trip to Alexandria, and on his return the vessel was attacked by the enemy and he was wounded. After peace was restored, he was promoted to a command in one of the vessels of the Messrs.

Gardner, and soon realized a sufficient sum to purchase the vessel known as the *Three Friends*. His vessels made thirty-eight voyages to Calcutta, seventeen to Canton, thirty-two to Sumatra, forty-seven to St. Petersburg, and thirty to other foreign ports. It is said that he shipped at different times seven thousand seamen and advanced thirty-five to rank of master who had entered his employ as boys.

Captain John Bertram, of later date, was, perhaps, second to no one as a shipmaster and merchant. He was a shrewd but square-dealing man, and always was on the *qui vive* to get the best end of the bargain. In 1824, he, with others, chartered the schooner *General Brewer*, and, in company with Captain W. B. Smith, sailed for St. Helena. When a few days out, he met the brig *Elizabeth*, of Salem, Story, master, also bound for St. Helena. Captain Story came on board the *General Brewer* and took tea with Captain Bertram. Each was desirous that the other should not know his destination. They announced that they were bound

to Pernambuco. Captain Bertram suspected, however, that the *Elizabeth* was bound to St. Helena, and he was extremely anxious to arrive there first and dispose of his cargo. When night came on, in order to lighten his vessel, he threw overboard his entire deck load of lumber, and by crowding on all sail, day and night, arrived at St. Helena, disposed of his cargo to good advantage, and was sailing out of the harbor just as the *Elizabeth* arrived. From St. Helena Captain Bertram went to Pernambuco on his way to Salem, in order, it may fairly be presumed, to keep his word good, as he was an "exact man."

Among the noted merchants were also John Turner, George Crowninshield, Edward Kitchen, Thomas Lee, Benjamin Pickman, Timothy Orne, Joseph Cabot, William Orne, Nathaniel West, Pickering Dodge, Joseph Lee, Gideon Tucker, Robert Stone, Dudley L. Pickman, Jeramael Peirce, Aaron Wait, Nathaniel Silsbee, Nathaniel L. Rogers, Robert Brookhouse, Robert Upton, David Pingree, Thomas Hunt, Tucker Daland,

Michael Shepard, Stephen C. Philips, Edward D. Kimball, and Charles Hoffman. Several of the above named had been shipmasters. They had a formidable rival in their commerce with foreign nations, namely, the rich East India Company, incorporated by Queen Elizabeth in the sixteenth century. This company had for its head Joseph Child, at one time doing the menial work in a London counting-room, subsequently the privileged associate of royalty. King Charles II. accepted a gift from him of ten thousand guineas. This company held in its powerful grasp the whole trade of England with the Indies, and sent forth its autocratic edicts, commanding its subjects in India to disregard even the votes of the House of Commons.

The Marine Society, as has been observed, was an institution of great importance to the master mariners and others. Frequent bequests have augmented its treasury so that it is at the present time self-supporting. It has a clear title-deed to the Franklin Building, one of the best blocks in the city, a gift

from one of the early shipmasters and merchants of Salem—Captain Thomas Perkins,—whose name has been mentioned in connection with his munificent gift. Mr. Perkins was an intelligent, active, and resolute man, and did much in the way of fitting out privateers in the Revolutionary War. He, at different times, was commander of the privateers *Spitfire* and *Thrasher*, in the last-named capturing six prizes in a single cruise. He was an associate officer with the late Joseph Peabody on the letter-of-marque brig *Ranger*, Captain Simmons, when that vessel was attacked in the Potomac River, in 1782, by three British Tory barges, which were heroically repulsed, the enemy losing in killed and wounded more than fifty men. Messrs. Perkins and Peabody were subsequently partners in commercial business for many years. Later on, Michael Shepard, another of Salem's esteemed merchants, was associated with Mr. Perkins in business.

Captain Perkins, after retiring from active business, returned to his native town, where he died November 24, 1830, at the age of

seventy-two years. Above his grave is an unpicturesque stone, bearing the following inscription :

IN MEMORY OF THOMAS PERKINS, ESQ.,
AN EMINENT MERCHANT.

“His Industry, Temperance and Enterprise Raised him From Poverty to Immense Wealth, which he enjoyed without Pride or Ostentation, and dispensed with Justice and Benevolence.

“He was Diligent and Faithful in Business, Pure in his Life and Conversation ; of a Sound and Vigorous Mind, and of an Integrity and Fortitude which neither Prosperity nor Adversity could shake or corrupt.

“He was an affectionate Son, a kind Relative, and a firm Friend.

“He was a Christian above sectarian prejudice, and a Man above Fear and without Reproach.

“He was born in Topsfield, April 2d, 1758, and died Nov. 24th, 1830.”

It cannot be well conceived how an epitaph could be stronger worded ; but

doubtless it was a tribute which Mr. Perkins fully merited after his long and useful life.

The Marine Society in 1890 had a membership of fifty, the ages of the members ranging as follows: Two over eighty; ten between seventy and eighty; sixteen between sixty and seventy; seventeen between fifty and sixty, and five under fifty.

In the north end of the Franklin Building, on the first floor, is a large room formerly occupied as a store, but after the old captains' "manifest" had clearly demonstrated "shortages" in rent sundry times through the migratory propensity of tenants, they resolved to occupy the room themselves, and, acting in accordance with this idea, they removed their furniture and valuables from a room which they had occupied above. In this room of a pleasant afternoon may be seen a coterie of the old captains, most of them well on in years. But they never grow old in the common acceptation of that word. Their minds have not been dulled through their rough-and-tumble

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experiences with the world. As they meet together they love to recall the past. Many who were wont to grace this room with their presence have sailed their final voyage, to a port from which they transmit no log-“reckoning” to guide others on the unknown sea they have crossed.

CHAPTER VI

Journal and Record of the Ship *George*—Death of Greenleaf Perley—
The Mate's Poetic Tribute—Last of the Old Ship.

THE old log-books are now held as precious souvenirs by the descendants of those who kept them in the long years ago. The writer has before him a journal of the ship *George*, celebrated for her many successful voyages to the Indies. The names of Samuel Endicott, master, and William C. Lamb, first officer, are entered upon the first page. The entries in these books, made from day to day,—the distances run, some days covering two hundred miles or more, the “baffling winds,” “flying clouds,” “strong gales,” “moderate breezes,” etc.—are of interest. The entry for May 25, 1822, is as follows: “At 1 P.M. weighed anchor and sailed from Salem harbor. At 2 discharged the pilot. At 3 Thatcher’s Island bore N. $\frac{1}{2}$ E., distance 7 miles, from which

I take my departure. Latitude by obs., $42^{\circ} 7' N.$ " The mate added at the bottom of his "remarks" the following: "God send us safe to our distant port and return." It is not to be wondered at that the first officer, or mate, was in a serious frame of mind, when it is remembered that he was entering upon a voyage to Calcutta, from which he would not return for a year or more. The next day's entry was: "Light baffling winds. At 2 P.M. spoke the ship *Catherine* from Calcutta, bound to Boston; 113 days out. Took in and set studding-sails, as occasion required." The direction of the wind, courses, and other necessary details were also entered. The above is a sample of the daily entries, varied, of course, to suit the condition of things. The ship arrived at Calcutta on the 22d of August, eighty-nine days and five hours from Salem. She sailed for her home port December 19th, and reached it after a passage of one hundred and one days, loaded with the rich goods of the East. The *George* again sailed for Calcutta the following June. The first day out the

mate was inclined to be a bit poetical, so he wrote on the margin of his log :

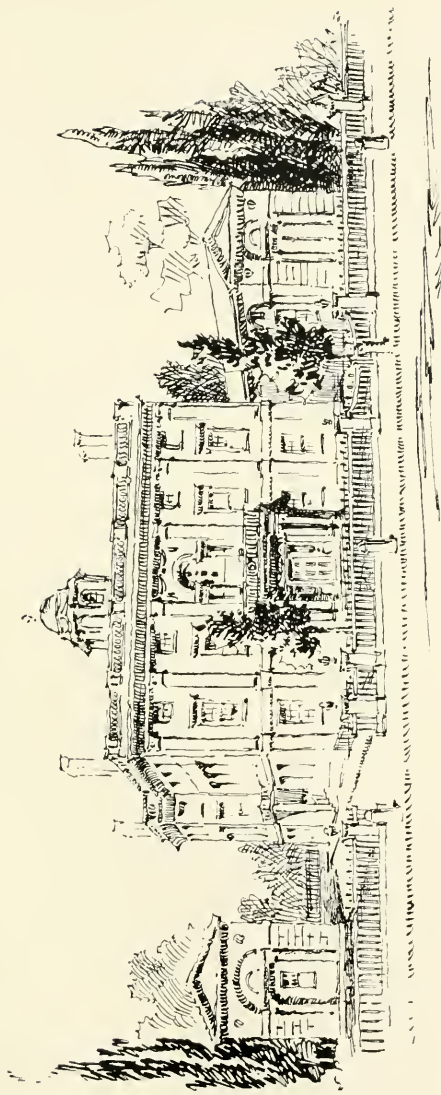
“ The topsails fill—embrace the wind—
And cast the *George* to sea ! ”

This was another profitable voyage, and there were many of the same kind which followed. A few days before leaving Calcutta, which was on the 14th of February, 1824, Greenleaf Perley, one of the crew, died, and Mr. Lamb, the mate, who, as is seen in many places in the journal, was quite expert in the use of the pencil or pen, devoted one whole page of the book in drawing an elaborate headstone. On the space at the top a weeping-willow is represented, and beneath the name and age of deceased are some tributary lines. There was not space sufficient on the tablet for the five verses he composed, so they were in part written at the bottom. The first verse reads as follows:

“ The youth ambitious sought a sickly clime,
His hopes of profit banish'd all his fears ;
His was the generous wish of love divine,
To soothe a mother's cares and dry her tears ! ”

Mr. Lamb, doubtless, was a very efficient officer, but he never rose to the distinction of master. This was not necessarily to his discredit, as it was occasionally the case that a first officer in every way qualified to sail as captain would not assume the care and responsibility of that office. It was sufficient testimony to his ability and reliability to know that he was able to obtain the "billet" of first officer of so famous a ship.

It is interesting to note the following brief record of the *George*. Her average outward voyages to Calcutta were one hundred and fifteen days in length, and her homeward passages averaged one hundred and three days. She was built in Salem in 1814, for a privateer, by a company of ship-carpenters whom the war had thrown out of work. They had learned to build well, and they had every motive in this instance to do their best. But the war closed, and the unlaunched ship was converted into a "merchantman" by the addition of another deck, launched and sold. She was designed by Christopher Turner, who had built, in 1801,



Elias Hasket Derby's house, erected in 1799 at a cost of \$80,000.

Drawing from an old engraving.

for the Crowninshields, the sloop *Jefferson*, thought to have been the first pleasure-yacht ever launched in America.

The ship was named the *George* for Captain Joseph Peabody's third son. Captain Peabody named a ship for every member of his family. It was quite the fashion of the day to name vessels thus. Captain Samuel Page of Salem had ten children and had a ship named for each of them.

The *George* measured in length 110 ft. 10 in., beam 27 ft., depth of hold 13 ft. 6 in., and, according to the measurement of that day, 328 tons, equal to a present measurement of about 228 tons. She took out specie to secure her return cargoes, which consisted mainly of indigo, with some piece-stuffs of silk and cotton fabrics.

On her first voyage she sailed May 23, 1815, and entered her home port again June 13, 1818. Hardly a man on board was twenty-one years of age. Samuel Endicott of Beverly, who was on her first voyage an able seaman, sailed on her second voyage as second officer, and as first officer on her

third and fourth voyages, becoming master on her fifth voyage.

Her supercargoes were : Samuel Barton, nine voyages ; Samuel Endicott, two voyages ; James B. Briggs, two voyages ; Ephraim Emmerton, Jr., two voyages ; Daniel H. Mansfield, two voyages ; George W. Endicott, one voyage. Francis W. Pickman and Augustus Perry each sailed one voyage as clerk. In 1821, every man on board but the cook could read and write, and he could read. All but four understood navigation and "lunars." They were not only of native stock, but of the best blood of New England, and quite fitted to profit by the opportunities for discipline and instruction which made the ship, under such officers as sailed her, a school of seamanship equal to the best. Her drill and appointments were worthy of any navy in the world, and when her uniformed crews manned the captain's gig for the interchange of courtesies between her officers and their visitors in foreign ports, the appearance they made elicited no little praise.

Captain R. B. Forbes says that in his early days on the ocean the *George* was known as the "Salem Frigate." Her cooks and stewards were black, and no yachtsman of to-day carries a more famous cook than London Ruliff or Prince Farmer, nor a better steward than William Coleman or John Tucker. The stories of her unrivalled speed are countless, and her triumphs over rivals and companion ships fill a bright page in the history of Salem. Great odds were repeatedly laid in wagers on her speed, but she never disappointed her backers. Forty-five of the graduates of this training-school became shipmasters, twenty chief mates, and six second mates. She paid into the Treasury of the United States, in duties on imports in her twenty-one voyages, the sum of \$651,744. In 1836, she won her "freedom suit" of colors,—a fine set of silk flags and signals presented by the Binian merchants of Calcutta, and now in the hands of S. Endicott Peabody, of Salem.

She was furnished with the best of the old-time appliances, steered with a tiller, all

hands weighing anchor with the hand windlass, cables, and standing rigging, all from Salem "ropewalks." Such was the good ship *George*—never beaten because fast in light winds. Even famous clipper ships with a record of over three hundred miles a day could not outsail her. Her best run (in 1831) from the Cape of Good Hope to the equator was twenty-two days; from the equator to Salem, nineteen days; from the Cape to Salem, forty-one days. This is believed to be the quickest passage from the Cape to a North Atlantic port ever made under canvas.

The *George* had her vicissitudes. In 1827, she was chased by a schooner, a three-masted—a rare rig in those days,—which proved to be a slave-pirate, but she escaped with ease. Twice she encountered terrific gales and was badly wrecked, first, in Massachusetts Bay in the dreadful snow-storm of March, 1823—the worst storm in a generation,—and again in the Indian Ocean, a year later, when a hurricane drove all hands below but one man who was lashed to the

helm. On her arrival at Pernambuco in September, 1828, forty days out of Salem, she was leaking from ten to twelve hundred "strokes" per hour. Her cargo was discharged and she was stripped, hove down, and her planking and copper sheathing renewed, all within forty-nine days, and at a cost of nearly double the \$5248 paid for her hull when on the "stocks." In 1834, she returned aleak in ballast from Gibraltar, where she had lain seven months waiting in vain for a cargo of quicksilver, her keel loose, only five copper bolts holding, with sheathing started and seams open. A silver service of five pieces was presented to Captain Balch by the commander and passengers of the British ship *Heroine*, in recognition of aid rendered in the Indian Ocean, after the hurricane of October 29, 1836.

Finally, the *George* arrived from Calcutta May 17, 1837, and was sold for the South American trade. She sailed from Salem for Rio de Janeiro, on her last voyage, in September, but not before her surviving officers had stood on her quarter-deck once more,

and had enjoyed together a social hour in her familiar cabin. If the list of guests at this unique gathering could be produced, it would be found to contain many of the best names that have graced our commercial annals. Freighted with the regrets of all who recalled her in her prime, the famous craft left this port for Rio de Janeiro, where she was condemned, sold, and broken up on her arrival. So the "line-of-battle-ship," the "ocean-greyhound," the "Cup-defender," the Argonaut of trade — all alike find their last haven in the junk-shop!

The picture of the *George*, reproduced on another page, was the work of Edmund Stone of Beverly, who sailed before the mast in her from July, 1820, until April, 1821, and who is the only person known to have made a drawing of her. The names of the captains who commanded the *George* at different times, and the number of voyages they sailed, are as follows: William Haskell, one; Thomas West, three; Samuel Endicott, seven; Thomas M. Saunders, four; Jonathan H. Lovett, Jr., four;

Benjamin Balch, Jr., two; Jefferson Adams, one.

The above record of the *George* is only one of the many remarkable ones that might be given.

CHAPTER VII

Interesting Correspondence from the Salem *Register*—The Ships *Hazard* (First and Second)—Model of the Frigate *Constitution*, etc.
—Commodore Bainbridge's Visit to Salem in 1813—Captain Charles H. Allen's Voyages—The Ships *St. Paul* and *Mindoro*—Last of the Indiamen.

A CORRESPONDENT of the Salem *Register*, writing under date of May 10, 1877, to that paper, says:

“I find in the Salem *Impartial Register* of May 14, 1801, the following item:

“‘The ship *Hazard*, Capt. Richard Gardner, arrived at New York on Friday last, in ninety days from Bengal, and forty-five days from the Cape of Good Hope. Left at the former port (Calcutta), ships *Adventure*, Parr; *Cyrus*, Leach; bark *Elixa*, Lander.’”

This correspondent further remarks: “Can any better passage than this, if equal to it, be found in these times of clipper ships?”

There may have been an equally short or shorter passage, but the writer does not recall any from many years of general familiarity and notice of passages from east of the Cape of Good Hope, or many in less than forty-five days from the Cape, or even in that time. The present bark *Hazard*, now twenty-eight years old, and named after the old *Hazard*, had made many voyages east of the Cape, and several short passages, but was never less than forty-seven days from the Cape to Boston, her shortest time from there. The old *Hazard* was a noted sailer in her day. She once made the passage from New York to the harbor of Rio Janeiro in thirty-one days. She made the passage from New York to Java Head in seventy-seven days, and completed the voyage by returning to New York after an absence of only seven months and five days. She also made a voyage from New York to Rio Janeiro, thence to New Orleans, and back to Boston in two days short of four months, with full cargoes each way."

In the east hall of the Peabody Academy

of Science are several full-rigged models of ships of historical interest—a memorial of the early commercial supremacy of Salem, and a reminder of the work of the East India Marine Society. Among the full-rigged models are the *Friendship*, built in 1797; the brig *Camel*, captured from the British in the War of 1812; and the United States frigate *Constitution*, the last a gift from Commodore Hull in 1813. From the last-named model a national salute was fired at the dinner in Hamilton Hall, given in 1813 by the Salem Light Infantry to the gallant commander of the old ship—Commodore Bainbridge. The model was evidently damaged by the performance, as a receipted bill, now in possession of the Museum, shows that a year later it was repaired by “British prisoners of war” then held in Salem — “a bit of kind-hearted irony on the part of the old Salem sea-dogs who then conducted the Museum,” said a citizen.

The ship *Mindoro*, owned by Silsbee Pickman and Allen, the last of the many “merchantmen” from Salem, which once proudly



Captain John Bertram (1796-1882), Shipmaster and Merchant.

Captain Bertram was a philanthropist, and dispensed large sums of money for charitable purposes.

From an oil painting by Edward Parker.

sailed the seas in nearly every habitable part of the globe, was "docked" at Derby wharf in 1894. She was built in 1864, but looked as trim and clean as when she came from the builder's hands. As the ship moved majestically up to the wharf, commanded by Captain Charles H. Allen, Jr.—her first and last commander,—the scene was grand and inspiring, calling up the long-slumbering past. The *Mindoro* never left the wharf again until she was sold in 1896. Soon after the transfer of ownership,—the new purchaser evidently having no regard for sentiment,—the brave old ship, so symmetrical in form and appointments, was "stripped" and degraded to a humiliating service—that of coal carrier, to be "tugged" around by a cheap and insignificant craft.

Captain Charles H. Allen went to sea when in his "teens" and soon rose to the position of master. He, at different times, commanded some of Salem's most famous ships. Captain Allen sailed from Salem as mate of the *Brookline*, on July 2, 1833, and was accompanied down the harbor and

nearly twenty miles out to sea by some of the leading citizens, they returning in a pilot boat. Among those present were Hon. Stephen C. Phillips, merchant, and subsequently mayor and Member of Congress; Rev. John Brazier, pastor of the North Church; Rev. James W. Thompson, of the First Church; Rev. Charles W. Upham, author of the *History of Salem Witchcraft*; Captain Kennedy, master of the *Brookline* on a former voyage; Captain Lovett of Beverly, and Mr. J. Porter Felt. Mr. John Felt, a brother of the last named, related to the writer that all the guests experienced the utmost enjoyment of the trip with the exception of the Rev. Mr. Brazier, who suffered from sea-sickness. There were those of the party, however, who were so uncharitable as to attribute the cause of his illness to the Rev. Mr. Upham's cigar!

Captain Allen came from a seafaring family, his father having been a shipmaster; and three of his brothers "followed the sea." William E. died in Gambia, Africa, while

mate of the brig *Quill*; Joseph A. died in Havana, being mate of a ship; and George F. was lost overboard, in a gale of wind, from the ship *Celestial*.

Captain Allen took command of the ship *Brookline* in 1836, and of the ship *St. Paul* in 1844, and completed five voyages in the latter, but on the sixth she was lost in the Straits of St. Bernardino. She was one of the last Indiamen in a long line of celebrated predecessors. Her hulk now lies stranded on a desolate shore, and the ebbing and flowing tides play in and about her decaying timbers. This old ship was a typical craft of the early part of the last century, standing high out of the water and having imitation "port-holes" painted black on a wide band of white. She really looked more like a man-of-war than a merchantman. The old craft still lives in the memories of some who were school-boys sixty years ago, and who used to climb her rigging and be proud of their achievements.

Captain Allen returned from the sea in 1860, having rounded out fifty years of

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service, and died in Salem in 1899 at the age of eighty-nine years.

NOTE.—The following information touching the ship *St. Paul* is from a citizen who well remembers her. “The *St. Paul*, whose measurement was about 463 tons, was a fine ship, built at Boston in 1833. Her stern was broad and square, in which were several large windows, and above them were quaint carvings representing St. Paul on the Isle of Malta shaking the viper from his hand. The figure-head of the ship consisted of a striking bust of St. Paul. She made fourteen voyages to Manila and was lost in the last one in the Straits of Bernardino. When in port at Manila the native boatmen used to cross themselves whenever they passed the bow of the vessel, out of reverence to the great Apostle the figure-head represented.”

CHAPTER VIII

Fellow-Feeling among the Mariners—Love for their Native Land and the American Flag—The Corsairs and their Atrocities—War with Algiers—The Brave Commanders Decatur and Bainbridge.

THE Marine Society, as has been stated, furnished many naval officers for the Revolutionary War, and for that of 1812. These men were not only hardy and courageous, but they were possessed of good judgment, could be relied on in every emergency, and had a strong fellow-feeling for each other. No American suffering injustice in a foreign port, however humble his condition, ever appealed to the old captains in vain. They were ever alive to the calls of distress, and stood ready, at all times, to rescue the perishing, even at the sacrifice of their own lives. The American flag was a rich heritage to them, and they held and protected it as a sacred trust. It floated

from the main peak of their vessels at home and abroad. An insult to the flag was a personal insult to them. Whenever and wherever it was assailed,

“ They rushed to meet the insulting foe,
And took the spear, but left the shield.”

As early as 1785 the Algerine corsairs became troublesome to nearly every European government in the capture of vessels and their crews, and subjecting the latter to slavery for the purpose of extorting ransoms from their respective governments. These outrages were at last extended to vessels of the United States. Officers and crews sailing under the American flag were captured by the barbaric Algerines and held as prisoners, and every indignity imposed upon them.

The Marine Society was the prime mover in an undertaking which not only taught the Algerines better manners, but eventually relieved the suffering natives from a thralldom which had become destructive and intolerable. On the 29th of November,

1792, the Marine Society, realizing the condition of affairs, took the following action :

“*Voted*, That the committee of correspondence be desired to write Congress to know if anything can be done for our poor brethren prisoners that are confined at Algiers.” From the old records it is learned that in 1785 the corsairs captured two American vessels—one of which was from Salem—and held their crews, demanding that a stipulated sum be paid by the United States Government for their release. Following this act, other crews were taken in the same way by these barbarians, and consigned to servitude. Sums ranging from \$2000 to \$4000 per capita were demanded for the release of the crews.

European governments had been in the habit of acceding to the extortions of the Dey—in order to protect their seamen—and paid him annual tribute. In 1805, the United States Government, following the example of European governments, effected a treaty with the Dey, who released the captives on the payment of fixed amounts of

money, and an agreement by the Government to pay him an annual sum. The amount to be paid down was \$8,000,000, with an additional consideration of the present of a frigate worth \$100,000. The amount of annual tribute was to be \$25,000.

The record shows that in 1794 the officers and crews of five American ships, five brigs, and three schooners were held as captives by the Algerines. Out of thirteen masters, eleven mates, two supercargoes, four second mates, and eighty-four seamen, only four had been redeemed in February, 1794. The plague soon after visited Algiers, and out of one hundred and twenty-six captives only eighty survived.

Notices were posted in conspicuous places in Salem, on February 10, 1795, requesting the people to attend a meeting to be held at the Court-House, on the evening of that day, of which the following is the text :

“For the purpose of taking into consideration the unhappy situation of the unfortunate prisoners at Algiers, and to devise some method for carrying into effect a gen-

eral collection for their relief, on Thursday, the 19th day of the present month. The meeting is called by the desire of the reverend clergy and other respectable citizens of this town, who wish to have some system formed that will meet the acceptance of the inhabitants previous to the day of contribution. The truly deplorable fate of these miserable captives loudly calls for your commiseration, and the fervent prayers they have addressed to you from their gloomy prisons ought to soften the most adamant heart. They intreat you in the most impassioned language not to leave them to despair, but, as prisoners of hope, let those of them who still survive the plague, pestilence, and famine, anticipate the day that shall relieve them from the cruel scourge of an infidel, and restore them to the arms of their long-bereaved friends and country. It is hoped the humane and benevolent will attend, that charity may not be defeated of her intended sacrifice in the auspicious festival, when the New World shall all be assembled, and the United States shall offer up

her tribute of Praise and Thanksgiving at the altars of God."

This was a day of national thanksgiving, ordered by proclamation of President Washington; hence considerations of a public nature prevented the movement from being carried into effect. But there is no doubt that the action of the Marine Society and its memorial to Congress prompted the Government to act in the matter. Subsequently the Government effected a treaty with Algiers, as has been stated, by paying annual tribute, and the prisoners were released. It was not long, however, before the Mediterranean pirates committed further outrages, more American vessels were captured, some of which hailed from Salem. The efforts of the Government to protect its seamen seemed to be of no avail. The Algerine officials paid but little attention to remonstrances, and, instead of trying to protect American commerce, connived at the depredations of the marauders. At last forbearance ceased to be a virtue with the American Government, and on the 2d of March, 1815, war

was declared against Algiers. It was of but a few months' duration, however, and Decatur and Shaler, the American commissioners, concluded a treaty on favorable terms. As the American squadron, which had conquered the Algerines, lay at Gibraltar, an officer on board of one of the vessels wrote:

“It was a proud sight for an American to see in a British port, just at the close of a war with her, which the English thought would have been the destruction of our navy, a squadron of seventeen sails, larger than our whole navy at the commencement of the war. . . . You have no idea of the respect which the American character has gained by our late wars. The Spaniards, especially, think we are devils incarnate; as we beat the English, who beat the French, who beat them—whom nobody ever beat before,—and the Algerines, whom the devil himself could not beat.”

It was thus that the disgrace of paying tribute to the Algerines was wiped out by Decatur and Bainbridge. The United States was the first nation to free herself from this

subjection. The Dey very reluctantly gave up the idea of extorting tribute from the Americans, fearing that other nations would take advantage of it. He gave the commissioners to understand that it was not the amount of the sum he was particular about, but that the receipt of something annually from the Americans would add to his security, if it were only a little powder. Commodore Decatur observed that he thought it very probable that, if he (the Dey) insisted upon receiving powder from the Americans, his wishes would be fully gratified, but he must expect to receive balls with it.

Salem merchants, shipmasters, and crews were among the greatest sufferers from the piratical captures of the Algerines, and it was largely due to the united and persistent efforts of the members of the Salem Marine Society that the Government was at last moved to take decisive action.

CHAPTER IX

Privateers in the Revolutionary War and that of 1812—Captain Hadden and Other Brave Commanders—The British Navy Crippled by American Privateers—Extracts from the Captain's Journal.

LETTERS of marque,¹ or commissions authorizing privateers to make war upon, or seize the property of, a nation upon the high seas, were issued by European nations at an early period. Private vessels of two nations at war with each other were debarred from destroying property or in any way interfering with legitimate commerce, unless granted letters-of-marque. Acting without such authority was considered piracy.

Naval warfare is not a pastime, nor is it necessarily a duel of honor between two warring powers in settling a dispute. This

¹ Letters-of-marque were abolished among European nations at the Treaty of Paris in 1856.

being true, the destruction of war-ships and the lives of men is recognized as lawful by every nation engaged in war. Therefore, it is both absurd and illogical to deprive a nation, thus belligerently engaged, from crippling an antagonist in every way possible, even by the employment of privateers. By this, war is not made more cruel. That is a humane policy which aims to bring hostilities to a close in the shortest time possible. It is plain, then, that the most effective agencies should be employed. Had it not been for the privateers in both the Revolutionary War and that of 1812, this country would have experienced greater loss and more suffering, and the result—certainly in the Revolutionary War—might have been different. Our improvised navy, manned largely by the hardy fishermen from Salem, Marblehead, Beverly, and other seaport towns, was most destructive to the navy and commercial resources of Great Britain. The navy of the Colonists at the Revolutionary period did not pretend to cope in open sea with the line-of-battle



Captain Chas. H. Allen, Commander of the *St. Paul*, and
other noted ships.

ships of that country ; but the brave and intrepid Yankee fishermen, many times in their fishing “ smacks,” captured by ruse or stratagem Britain’s most formidable ships. They were ever on the alert for an opportunity to “ cut out ” from a hostile fleet some straying frigate, and scores of times did they succeed.

In the War of the Revolution the Colonists were poorly equipped to measure strength with the enemy, more particularly on the sea. Our commerce was nearly ruined, and it was all-important to success that the commerce of Great Britain should suffer likewise. At this period the merchants and master mariners of Salem turned their vessels into privateers. During the war, one hundred and fifty-eight vessels of all kinds, fully equipped and manned, were sent out from Salem. These vessels had an armament of two thousand guns, and the aggregate of the crews ran up into the thousands. They took four hundred and forty-five prizes in the war, and the vessels lost by the Americans were less than fifty.

Among the brave officers who commanded privateers were Jonathan Haraden, Thomas Benson, John Carnes, John Derby, Benjamin Crowninshield, John Felt, Simon Forrester, Joseph Waters, Thomas Perkins, S. Tucker, and William Gray. There were also other well-known names in this connection.

Captain Haraden, after rising to the position of lieutenant in the navy, took command of the *General Pickering*, a ship of 180 tons, and carrying fourteen six-pounders, and a crew of forty-five men. In this ship he sailed in 1780. Soon after leaving port, he was attacked by a British cutter of twenty guns and sixty-five men. After a combat of two hours his opponent escaped. As he entered the Bay of Biscay he fell in with a British privateer of twenty-two guns and sixty men. The meeting of the vessels was in the night, and Captain Haraden ran alongside unobserved, and commanded, through his trumpet, the immediate surrender of his opponent or he would sink him. This demand was complied with at once.

Nearing the port of Bilboa, a vessel was seen coming out which the captured captain said was the *Achilles*, an English ship of forty-two guns, and one hundred and forty men. "I sha'n't run from her," was the cool reply of Captain Haraden. The *Achilles* retook the prize, and as night drew on deferred further attack until morning. At day-break the *Achilles* proudly bore down upon the *Pickering*, but the captain of that vessel was not caught napping. The fight lasted three hours, at the end of which time the British ship was compelled to withdraw. The *Pickering* immediately gave chase, but the British ship being the lighter escaped. Captain Haraden returned, recaptured his prize, and took her into Bilboa.

The late Robert Cowan, who was on board the *Pickering* at the time of the fight, said that "the *General Pickering*, in comparison with her antagonist, looked like a longboat beside a ship," and that "he (Captain Haraden) fought with a determination that seemed superhuman ; and, although in the most exposed positions, where shot flew

around him in thousands, he was all the while as calm and steady as amidst a shower of snowflakes."

On one of his cruises Captain Haraden fell in with the king's mail-packet on her homeward trip. The two vessels closed in upon each other, and after four hours of desperate fighting, Captain Haraden was compelled to haul off to repair damages. Having put his ship in the best condition possible, he loaded his cannon with all the powder he had left, and ran down to the packet, and hailing the captain, said: "I will give you five minutes to haul down your colors, and if they are not down at the end of that time I will sink you." The colors came down in just three minutes. This act is but an illustration of the daring spirit which inspired the captains of privateers.

During the war, Captain Haraden captured over one thousand cannon and scores of rich prizes. The Salem privateers crippled the British Navy by intercepting the transport and supply ships sent from England and

Nova Scotia to the troops in Boston and New York. They cruised in the English and Irish Channels, in the Bay of Biscay, and hovered round every port of the enemy, waiting for their prey. So disastrous was their work that England finally had to employ most of her navy in convoying her merchant ships. During this time the rate of insurance on British ships was raised twenty-three per cent.

Captain Hezekiah Flint sailed in the schooner *Syntha* from Salem harbor, and proceeded for Hispaniola, in sight of which he was captured by a Bermudian privateer, who put on board eight men and a prize-master, taking from the schooner the mate and three men, and ordered her to Bermuda. After being on board the privateer eleven days, one of the men, who had been ill-treated, informed Captain Flint he wished to retake the schooner, which being agreed to, the next morning, about four o'clock, they, with two others, took possession by securely fastening the prize-master and men in the cabin. They then shaped their course

home, where they arrived in due time, bringing nearly all the cargo with them. They had to keep on deck after capturing the schooner.

In the War of 1812, Salem was again at the "front" with her privateers. She equipped and sent to sea forty vessels with letters-of-marque papers. Their tonnage was 3405; armament, 189 guns, and the aggregate number of men 2142. Boston sent out only thirty-one vessels.

From the records it is found that the schooner *Fame* of Salem was a fishing-boat of but thirty tons, carrying two guns and thirty men. She received her papers July 1, 1812, at noon, and sailed in the afternoon. She sent the first prize into Salem. Robert Brookhouse was one of her commanders. The *Jefferson*, a boat of fourteen tons, belonging to George Crowninshield, sailed the same day as the *Fame*, and sent the second prize to Salem.

The *America* was considered the fastest sailer afloat during the war. She made several cruises under the respective com-

mands of Captain Joseph Ropes and Captain James Cheever, Jr. She captured during her first three cruises twenty-six prizes, and sent property into port valued at \$1,100,000.

The following extracts are from the journal of the *America* on her first voyage, when in command of Captain Ropes.

JOURNAL OF THE "AMERICA"

"Monday, Sept. 7, 1812.—At half-past 11 o'clock weighed anchor and beat out of the harbor.

"Friday, Sept. 11th.—Carried away the maintop-mast with five men aloft, but none of them was injured.

"Wednesday, Sept. 23d.—At half-past 5 A.M., captured the British brig *James and Charlotte*, Lavitt, master, from Liverpool bound to St. John's. Cargo: coal, hats, dry-goods, etc. Put Mr. Tibbetts, prize-master, and six men on board, and ordered her for the first port she could make.

"Friday, Nov. 6th, at 4 P.M., saw a sail to the southward. Wore round after her and made all necessary sail in chase. At 9 A.M.

brought her to and boarded her. She proved to be the British brig *Benjamin*, James Collins, master, from Newfoundland to England.

“Saturday, Nov. 7th, manned the brig with Joseph Dixon, prize-master, and eight men, and ordered her for the first port to northward of Nantucket in North America. Took the mate and seven men from the brig, and left the captain, one man, and a boy on board.

“Wednesday, Nov. 18th, at 7.30 A.M., saw a sail bearing northwest by west. Let two reefs from the topsail, and set the maintopgallant-sail in chase.

“Thursday, Nov. 19th, at 1 P.M., came up with the chase and boarded her. She proved to be the ship *Ralph Nickerson*, from Quebec, bound for and belonging to London, with a cargo of lumber. Put on board John Proctor as prize-master and eleven men, and ordered her to America.

“Tuesday, Nov. 24th, at 7.30 A.M., saw a sail bearing S.W. by S., and made all necessary sail in chase. At 9 A.M. brought her to and boarded her. She proved to be the British ship *Hope*, from St. Thomas, bound

to Glasgow. Cargo: sugar, rum, and cotton. The captain informed us he had left a fleet three days previous, consisting of forty-five sail of vessels, under convoy of the *King Dove* and *Scorpion*, sloops of war. Put on board Joseph Valpey as prize-master and twelve men, and ordered her for America.

“Wednesday, Nov. 25th, at 3.45 P.M., saw a sail bearing south, standing easterly. Gave chase, and at 4.45 P.M. fired and brought her to and boarded her. She proved to be the British brig *Dart*, from St. Thomas bound to Glasgow. Cargo principally rum and cotton. The boat left the brig with Mr. Sparhawk, Thomas Fuller, and five prisoners, but unfortunately the boat got under the ship’s counter and foundered. Mr. Sparhawk, Thomas Fuller, and three of the prisoners were saved; the other two prisoners were drowned. The captain put on board Anthony D. Caulfield as prize-master.

“Sunday, Dec. 6th, begins with a hard gale and squally, with rain. Several of the officers and crew attacked with a very

troublesome inflammation of the eyes, which disorder cannot be accounted for. Curtailed the allowance of water to three and one half pints per twenty-four hours.

“Wednesday, Dec. 16th, at 7.30 A.M., saw a sail to the southeast, and made all sail in chase. At 8 perceived that she was a brig steering to the eastward. At 11 brought her to and boarded her. She proved to be the British brig *Euphemia* of Glasgow, from La Guayra bound to Gibraltar, John Gray master, mounting ten guns, and navigated by twenty-five men.

“Thursday, Dec. 17th, took eight guns from the prize and put on board Archibald S. Dennis as prize-master and eleven men, and took from her the first and second officers and twenty-one men. At 5 P.M. parted from her and made sail.

“Thursday, Jan. 7, 1813, at 3 P.M., saw the land about Marblehead, and at 8 o'clock came to anchor in Salem harbor.”

The six prizes captured by the *America* on this cruise were valued at one hundred and fifty-eight thousand dollars.

CHAPTER X

Cruise of the Famous Privateer *Grand Turk*—How this Ship Escaped from Two British Frigates—Fight of the Ship *Montgomery* with an English Packet Brig—Bravery of Captain Benjamin Upton.

NEXT to the ship *America*, the brig *Grand Turk* was, perhaps, the most noted privateer in the War of 1812. Her cruises and the daring of her officers and crew have been the theme for many a winter's tale around New England firesides when the wild storms raged without. On occasions like these the smallest school-boy has often listened with rapt attention akin to awe as some old adventurer on the "mighty deep" has spun his yarns; and not infrequently have lessons of duty and patriotism been inculcated thereby. More impressively instructive to the young, and better adapted to their comprehension than many of the school-books which pretend to give an epit-

ome of our naval history, were the stories as they came fresh from the lips of living participants in the marvelous, even though there were woven in occasional threads of fancy.

The *Grand Turk*, at one time a merchantman, as previously indicated, was a taut, trim vessel of 310 tons burden, and a very fast sailer. She carried eighteen guns and a crew of one hundred and fifty men. Her first commander was Holten J. Breed, who was succeeded by Nathan Green. After a cruise of one hundred and three days, she arrived in Salem with only forty-four of the original crew—the rest having been assigned to captured prizes—and fifty prisoners. She captured seven vessels, one with an invoice of £30,000 sterling, and had on board goods to the amount of \$20,000. Following are extracts from the journal of the *Grand Turk* while on her last cruise.

JOURNAL OF THE "GRAND TURK"

"Sunday, Jan. 1, 1813, at 12.30 P.M., got under way, stowed the anchor, and cleared the decks. At 2 P.M., passed Baker's Island.

“Friday, Feb. 17th, at 3.30 P.M., boarded a catamaran for the purpose of gaining information. She proved to be from Pernambuco, and informed us of there being eight British vessels at said port. At 6 P.M., saw Pernambuco.

“Sunday, Feb. 19th, at 5.30 P.M., saw a sail in the north. At 9 A.M., boarded the brig *Joven*, Francisco, under Spanish colors, from Pernambuco for London, with a cargo of tea, coffee, sugar, and cinnamon, consigned to British merchants. By examination of one of the crew, who states the cargo to be British property, and some letters and invoices, I have every reason to believe the property to be *bona fide* British. Accordingly manned her with Nathaniel Archer as prize-master, and ordered her to the United States.

“Tuesday, Feb. 21st, at 5 P.M., saw a sail in the south standing to the northward. Lay by for her. At 6.30, boarded her. She proved to be the British ship *Active*, Jane, of Liverpool, bound for Rio Janeiro to Maranham in ballast. Took from her seven

bags of specie, containing 14,000 millrees, equal to \$17,500, and manned her out to keep company during the night. At daylight boarded, dismantled, and scuttled her.

“Friday, March 10th, at daylight the man at the masthead described a sail in the eastern quarter. Called all hands immediately and made sail in chase. Soon after saw another sail on the weather-bow. Still in pursuit of the chase and approaching her fast. At 6.30, passed very near the second sail, which was a Portuguese schooner standing W.S.W. At 7, saw the third sail three points on our lee-bow, the chase a ship. At 8, discovered the third to be a large ship by the wind to the north and westward. At 10, being three-fourths of a mile to windward, discovered the chase to be a frigate, endeavoring to decoy us. Tacked ship, and she immediately tacked and made all sail in pursuit of us. Soon perceived we had the superiority of sailing; displayed the American flag and fired a shot in defiance. At 11, the wind hauled suddenly to the westward. The frigate received



The Gardner House, Essex Street.

This house was built by Capt. John Gardner, merchant, about the beginning of the last century. Now the residence of David Pingree, a retired merchant.

a favorable breeze, which caused her to lay across, and nearing us fast. At 11.30, the frigate within gunshot; got out our sweeps and made considerable progress, although calm and a short head sea. Frigate commenced firing, got out her boats, and attempted to tack four different times, but did not succeed. Hoisted our colors and gave her a number of shot. A ship to leeward, a frigate also. At noon swept our brig round with her head to the northward, and, having the sea more favorable, left the chaser considerably. The day ends with extreme sultry weather; all hands to the sweeps, and both ships in pursuit of us.

“Saturday, March 11th, at dusk—Frigates using every exertion to near us.

“Sunday, March 12th, 1.30 P.M.—Saw two sail two points on our bow; soon discovered them to be the two frigates still in pursuit of us, and the enemy still holding the breeze. At 5 P.M., light variable winds with us and the enemy still holding the breeze. Took to our sweeps. At dusk, the enemy's ships bore S.S.W.

“Monday, March 13th, at 2 P.M., the enemy having been out of sight four and a half hours, concluded to get down the foretopmast and replace it with a new one. All hands busily employed. At 4, saw a sail ahead standing for us. At 5.30, got the new foretopmast and the topgallant-mast in place, rigging secured, yards aloft, and made sail in pursuit of the latter. At 7, came up and boarded her ; she proved to be a Portuguese brig, bound from Bahia to Le Grande with a cargo of salt. Finding ourselves discovered by the British cruisers, and being greatly encumbered with prisoners, concluded to release them, and accordingly paroled five British prisoners and discharged ten Spaniards and put them on board the brig, after giving a necessary supply of provisions.

“Saturday, March 18th, at 2 P. M., came up and spoke a Portuguese brig from Africa bound to Rio Janeiro with a cargo of slaves. Filled away in pursuit of a second sail in the northwest. At 4.30, she hoisted English colors, and commenced firing her stern

guns. At 5.20, took in the steering sails ; at the same time she fired a broadside. We opened a fire from our larboard battery, and at 5.30 she struck her colors. Got out our boats and boarded her. She proved to be the British brig *Acorn*, from Liverpool for Rio Janeiro, mounting 14 cannon and having a cargo of dry goods. At 5.50, we received the first boatload of goods on board. Employed all night in discharging her.

“Sunday, March 19th, at daylight, saw two frigates and a brig on the lee beam, in chase of us. Took a full boat load of goods on board, manned out the prize with Joseph Phippen and eleven men, and ordered her for the United States. As the prize was in a good plight for sailing, I have good reason to think she escaped. One of the frigates pursued us for three-quarters of an hour, but finding that she had her old antagonist, gave over the pursuit. Having on board one hundred and sixty odd bales, boxes, cases, and trunks of goods, which I conceive are very valuable, and the brig’s copper and rigging being very much out of repair, and

water scant, concluded to return home with all possible despatch. As another inducement, I have information of a treaty of peace being signed at Ghent between the United States and Great Britain, and only remains to be ratified by the former.

“Wednesday, March 29th, at 4 A.M., saw a sail to windward very near us, and tacked in pursuit of her. At 8.30, came up with and boarded her. She proved to be a Portuguese ship from Africa bound to Maranh, with four hundred and seventy-four slaves on board. Paroled and put on board said ship eleven British prisoners.

“Saturday, April 15th, boarded the American schooner *Commit*, of and from Alexandria, for Barbadoes with a cargo of flour. They gave us the joyful tidings of peace between America and England, which produced the greatest rejoicing throughout the ship’s company.

“Saturday, April 29, 1815, at 7.30 A.M., saw Thatcher’s Island bearing northwest. At 8, saw Baker’s Island bearing west. At 9.30, came to anchor in Salem Harbor,

cleared decks, and saluted the town. Thus ends the cruise of one hundred and eighteen days."

The preceding extracts from the commander's journal will serve to show, not only the manner of life on board a privateer, but the courage and daring of the officers and crew. What was true in one case was equally true of them all.

One of the fiercest naval engagements during the War of 1812 was fought by Captain Benjamin Upton, of Salem, in the private armed brig *Montgomery*, of 165 tons, armed with eighteen guns, against a large English packet-brig with troops. This battle was fought off Surinam, December 5, 1812. The English brig, on sighting the American vessel, hauled up her courses and bore down toward her. After shots had been exchanged, Captain Upton ordered his antagonist to send a boat on board, which he refused to do. Then commenced a terrible conflict. The *Montgomery* delivered her broadside, which was promptly returned by the Englishman. The fight was commenced

at 3 P.M. and continued until 8 P.M., when the English brig laid the *Montgomery* aboard on the starboard waist, the port anchor catching in her after-gun port, the enemy's spritsail-yard and jib-boom sweeping over the waist guns. Under this condition of things, the *Montgomery* kept up a fire of musketry and such guns as could be brought to bear, which was returned with musketry by regular platoons of soldiers. In this way the fight continued for nearly an hour. The *Montgomery* finally filled her foretopsail and became disengaged from the enemy, breaking his anchor, making a hole in the *Montgomery's* deck, breaking five stanchions, and staving in ten feet of bulwark, with standing rigging much cut up. She hauled off for repairs, having several men killed and a large number wounded ; among the latter were Captain Upton and Lieutenant John Edwards. It was thought prudent to go north into cooler weather on account of the wounded. The enemy was right glad to escape. On the deck of the *Montgomery* were found three boarding-pikes, one mus-

ket, and two pots of combustible material belonging to the enemy. At one time the *Montgomery* was on fire, but the flames were extinguished.

The *Montgomery* was afterwards commanded by Captain Joseph Strout and was captured by his Majesty's ship *La Hoge* (seventy-four guns) and taken to Halifax. The records make mention of the following incident : " When Captain Strout, with his son, who was with him, was going alongside of the ship on the launch, another son, a prisoner on board, hailed the father and asked where mother was."

CHAPTER XI

Fight between the *Chesapeake* and the *Shannon*—Bodies of Commander Lawrence and Lieutenant Ludlow Brought to Salem from Halifax in Brig *Henry*—Crew and Officers All Sea Captains—Impressive Funeral Services and Imposing Procession—The Bodies Entombed in Salem.

THE battle between the *Chesapeake* and *Shannon*, fought on the 1st of June, 1813, was, perhaps, the bloodiest and most desperate of any naval engagement during the war. What made the whole affair more solemn and impressive, not only to those who were to be the active participants in the fight, but to the anxious ones on shore, was the formal and methodical way in which the two frigates met by previous arrangement. They closed in upon each other like two wild beasts, although the officers and men of the respective ships had had no ill-will toward each other. It was nothing more or less than an international duel—the

prestige of national pride and courage being the prize for which each side contended.

But the *Chesapeake* did not lose the great stake for which she fought, certainly not in the better and truer sense of that word, although she was compelled to strike her colors to the English frigate. Lawrence, the brave commander, and his first officer, Ludlow, showed to their admiring countrymen and to the world that they were made of the kind of stuff of which heroes are composed. It was a mere accident, after all, that gave the victory to the *Shannon* — a few lucky or unlucky shots. The battle really took nothing from the prestige of the American Navy. It was fought off Boston harbor, and was plainly seen from Legge's Hill, in Marblehead, by citizens of that town and of Salem, and the heavy connonading was also distinctly heard. No officer was left on the deck of the *Chesapeake* undisa- bled higher in rank than a midshipman. The expression of Lawrence, as he lay mortally wounded, "Don't give up the ship!" has passed down in history, where it will remain

as an incentive to patriotism for all coming generations.

Several weeks elapsed before a detailed account of the battle was received in Salem and in Boston. The *Shannon* took the *Chesapeake* to Halifax, where Lawrence died from his wounds on the 5th of July. Lieutenant Augustus C. Ludlow was also a victim of the fight.

The members of the Salem Marine Society and other citizens met together and made arrangements for the recovery of the remains of the officers named. Captain George Crowninshield fitted and fully equipped the brig *Henry* at his own expense, and sailed for Halifax on the 9th day of August with, perhaps, the most notable crew that has ever left an American port,—every one, with possibly one exception, having been a shipmaster.

The officers and crew were as follows: Captain George Crowninshield, commander; Holten J. Breed, first officer; Samuel Briggs, second officer; crew: Benjamin Upton, Jeduthun Upton, Jr., John Sinclair,



Battle between the *Chesapeake* and the *Shannon*, June 1, 1813.

From the painting by J. C. Schetky.

Joseph L. Lee, Stephen Burchmore, Thomas Bowditch, Thorndike Proctor; stewards : Mark Messervey, Nathaniel Cummings. The brig returned after an absence of eleven days with the bodies of Lawrence and Ludlow. Meanwhile great preparations had been made for the funeral, and on Monday, August 23, 1813, it took place. Captains Hull, Stuart, Bainbridge, Blakely, Creighton, and Parker, of the United States Navy, were the pallbearers for Captain Lawrence, and the same number of naval officers acted in like capacity for Lieutenant Ludlow. A correspondent of a local paper of that day writes as follows of the sad occasion:

“The day was unclouded,—as if no incident should be wanting to crown the mind with melancholy and woe,—the wind blew from the same direction and the sea presented the same unruffled surface as was exhibited to our anxious view when, on the memorable first day of June, we saw the immortal Lawrence proudly conducting his ship to action. . . . The brig *Henry*, containing the precious relics, clad in sable,

lay at anchor in the harbor. At half-past 12 o'clock they were placed in barges, and, preceded by a long procession of boats filled with seamen uniformed in blue jackets and trousers, with a blue ribbon on their hats bearing the motto of 'Free Trade and Sailors' Rights,' were rowed by minute-strokes to the end of India (now Phillip's) wharf, where the hearses were ready to receive the honored dead. From the time the boats left the brig until the bodies were landed, the United States brig *Rattlesnake* and the brig *Henry*, alternately fired minute-guns.

"The immense concourse of citizens which covered the wharves, stores, and housetops to view the boats, the profound silence which pervaded the atmosphere, broken only by the sad reverberations of the minute-guns, rendered this part of the solemnities peculiarly grand and impressive. On the bodies being placed upon the hearses, they were covered with the colors which they had so lately and so signally honored, and conveyed at a suitable distance for the procession to form.

“The procession was under command of Major John Saunders, and moved to slow and solemn music, escorted by the Salem Light Infantry, Captain James C. King, through Derby, Essex, and other streets to Rev. Mr. Spaulding’s meeting-house on Howard Street, where the funeral oration was pronounced by Hon. Joseph Story, the burial service being conducted by Rev. Mr. Henshaw of Marblehead, Captain Peabody’s company of artillery firing minute-guns from Washington Square.

“Conspicuous in the procession and in the church were a large number of naval and military officers, also the Salem Marine and East India Marine societies, wearing badges, with the Masonic and other organizations. On arriving at the meeting-house, the coffins containing the remains were taken from the hearses and placed in the center of the church by the seamen who rowed them ashore, and who stood during the ceremony leaning upon them in an attitude of mourning. The church was decorated with cypress and evergreen, and the names of Lawrence

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and Ludlow appeared in gilded letters in front of the pulpit." A contemporary account also says: "The music was good and appropriate, and the eulogy was such an one as made veterans weep."

The bells in Boston were also tolled at the same time, and minute-guns were fired from the frigate *Constitution* and other war vessels in Boston harbor. The bodies were temporarily deposited in the tomb of Captain George Crowninshield in the Howard Street burial-ground, and on the 3d of September of the same year they were conveyed to Charlestown, and thence to New York by land, for interment in Trinity Churchyard.

In 1849, the remains of Lawrence were disinterred and removed to the site of the present mausoleum in New York, erected to his memory. The inscription it bears is familiar throughout the country,—in which is incorporated the immortal sentiment of the dying hero: "Don't give up the ship!"

CHAPTER XII

Captain Thomas Fuller—His Capture by Pirates in 1832—The Captain's Last Meeting with One of the Pirates—His Narrow Escape from Mutineers—Capture of Two Salem Ships by Malays.

THE story of the capture of the brig *Mexican*, of Salem, by pirates in 1832, is a matter of history, so but little need be said about it. It may be well, however, to state that after the pirates had secured their booty (\$20,000) from the brig, they fastened the officers and crew below, fired the vessel, fled to their schooner, the *Panda*, and made good their escape. The crew saw through an opening in the ceiling that the brig was on fire, and that a terrible fate was before them unless something were done, and done quickly, for their relief. Captain Butman called to mind that there was a flue or ventilator from the cabin up through the deck. An opening was soon made through the

partition leading to the cabin, and he mounted through the aperture, gained the deck, and extinguished the flames, which had been set in the steward's galley, and from which great volumes of smoke were issuing. He was just in season; a moment's delay and the sails and rigging would have been on fire, and the fate of all on board sealed.

Captain Thomas Fuller was, at the time of the capture, a mere boy, and he was roughly used by the pirates, one of them knocking him down because he refused to do his bidding. When the pirates were arraigned for trial at Boston, Fuller was a witness, and was asked by the Court if he could identify any of the prisoners. At that moment his eye fell on the desperado Ruiz, who had maltreated him on the *Mexican*, and quickly turning upon him he dealt him a severe blow. This was the kind of "pointing out" he gave, not only to the Court but to the pirate. Judge Story, in order to maintain the dignity of the Court, was compelled to reprimand Fuller, but no further notice was taken of the assault, if such it could be called.



Jacob Crowninshield, merchant and member of Congress
(1770-1808).

Mr. Crowninshield was appointed Secretary of the Navy by President
Jefferson, but declined the honor.

From an oil painting by Robert Hinkley.

Mr. Fuller was subsequently one of Salem's foremost shipmasters, and sailed for many years as captain of some of her famous ships. To-day he is hale and hearty, though nearly ninety-one years of age. He is courteous and affable, but no one can fail to see that he has a dignity and a bearing which at once mark him as a man born to command. His experiences on the ocean were many times of a thrilling nature. On the 10th of May, 1855, he sailed as master of the bark *Lucilla*, of Salem, for the East Indies. The cargo consisted of gunpowder, cotton cloth, and specie to the amount of twenty-three thousand dollars. He proceeded on his voyage until the 19th day of June, when, from information received from his officers and from one or two of the crew, he became satisfied that nearly all of the first officer's watch, and perhaps others, were maturing a scheme to murder him and capture the vessel and the treasure on board. This information was cautiously and secretly given to him, as the informants were trembling for their own safety.

Captain Fuller was not long in planning his line of action. He knew that he could rely on his officers and on the steward, so he gave orders to them to arm themselves with knives and pistols, and stand ready for duty at a moment's call. He had two blunderbusses in the cabin, which he loaded nearly to the muzzle. The opportune moment came at last, and sallying forth with those named above, the leaders in the plot were "covered" by the firearms and ordered to surrender. They were so taken by surprise that they offered no resistance, and were handcuffed without trouble. The names of those placed in irons were Robert Sands, Jean L. Harvey, and Abner Emerson. Presumably these were assumed names, as the men were "foreigners."

Captain Fuller immediately ordered the remainder of his men aft so as to have better control of them, his purpose being to work the vessel into the nearest port. Being then in latitude $7^{\circ} 59'$ north, he steered for Pernambuco. After the three men had been put in irons, they declared that the other

watch was equally mutinous. The captain, having no means by which he could convince himself that this statement was not true, and feeling that the vessel and property were in danger, as well as the lives of the officers, took every precaution possible for safety and protection. The *Lucilla* arrived in Pernambuco in due time, and the condition of things was at once reported to Mr. Lilley, the American Consul, on the 10th of July. By order of that official, the prisoners were removed from the vessel, and also another seaman named Grant Carroll, who had been one of the conspirators, but who, on being guaranteed immunity from punishment, signified his willingness to divulge the whole plot.

At the hearing the next day, three of the crew were examined as witnesses. Henry Ewen testified that there was a plot in the mate's watch to kill the captain and throw him overboard, and that the mate had agreed to take the vessel into any port the mutineers chose. This information was given to him by James Rogers, after he was re-

lieved from the helm and had gone forward. They wanted him to join them, and he refused, saying that if they wanted to do any murder they would have to do it themselves. The same night Robert Sands told him to say nothing about what had been told him, and that they were going to accomplish what they set out to do. The next day he told witness that he was going to cut the lower studding-sail halyards, for it was their intention, when the mate came forward, that one of their number should cut him down with an axe while the other came aft with pistols to put an end to the captain, second mate, cook, and steward.

Question by Consul Lilley: "Do you know to whom these two pistols, one dirk knife, bag of bullets, four boxes percussion-caps, one powder flask, two canisters of powder and hatchet, belong?"

"Yes, they were in the possession of Jean Louis Harvey and Abner Emerson."

James Rogers testified that Sands asked him if it was agreeable to him to have the "old man" thrown overboard. He, Rogers,

told him that he wanted two or three days to consider the matter. He asked who was going to take charge of the vessel, and was told that Magoun, the chief mate, would take her into any port they wished. Witness asked why they wanted to kill the captain, and Sands said they wanted better provisions.

Grant Carroll testified that he was urged to join in the meeting, that he asked what good they were going to get by it, and was informed that they would get four or five thousand dollars apiece. He was further informed that all who did not join in the plot would be killed as well as the officers. The mate was to be called forward that night and asked to join them. If he refused, they would kill him. Then they would wait until the other watch was called at four o'clock in the morning, and when the second mate came on deck they would kill him, after which they were going down into the cabin to kill the captain or wait until he came on deck. Nothing, however, was done that night. The next day another

plan was formed. Witness testified that when he went to the wheel to relieve Harvey, he (Harvey) gave him a pistol loaded with two balls with which to shoot the captain when he came on deck to take the sun. Robert Sands stood ready with a double-barrelled pistol to shoot the second mate when he came on deck. Harvey was at work on a sail on the lee side, and motioned to witness to shoot as the captain came up, but as there was a misunderstanding between them, the one forward waiting for the one aft to fire, the plan failed. Harvey asked him why he did not shoot the captain, and he said he could not.

The mutineers finally agreed to wait until they got to Sumatra before they made an attack, as they could get Malays enough to help them. Witness further testified that if the mate did join them they intended to kill him after they had got the ship as far as they wished, as he lived down in Salem, where the captain also lived, and knew the owners, and they were afraid he would tell. After further testimony had been given, corrob-

orative of that which had already been offered, the accused were adjudged guilty. They were subsequently sent to the United States by the consul, where they were tried, convicted, and sentenced to a long term of imprisonment. The chief officer, Mr. Magoun, was found blameless, having had no hand in the plot. Captain Fuller, after recruiting his crew up to the maximum number, proceeded on his voyage, with the inward satisfaction that, by his own coolness and courage, he had saved not only his life but much valuable property.

The shipmasters were constantly in the path of danger and disaster while sailing on their long voyages. The whale-ship *Friendship*, Charles M. Endicott, master, while at Quallah-Battoo was attacked by piratical Malays. The first mate, Charles Knight, was killed, and some of the crew seriously wounded. The captain was on shore at the time. Noticing some unusual movements on board his ship, he resolved to return to her in a boat with such of the crew as he could find on shore; but while on the way

he observed three Malay boats, containing in all some sixty men, pulling for the ship. He saw that it would be useless for him to contend against such odds, so he headed his boat for Muckis, twenty-five miles distant, for assistance.

There he found three vessels, among them the brig *Governor Endicott*, of Salem, H. H. Jenks, master, and the ship *James Monroe*, of New York, J. Porter, master. These vessels at once sailed to Quallah-Battoo, to rescue Captain Endicott's ship from its captors. Meanwhile the ship had been plundered of its specie and other valuables. At the time of the attack, four of the crew jumped overboard and swam a distance of two miles before finding a safe place to land. On the arrival of the vessels named, an attack was made on the town, and the *Friendship* was boarded and recaptured. Her voyage having been broken up, the captain set sail for Salem, where he arrived July 16, 1831.

The *Eclipse*, Captain Charles P. Wilkins, of Salem, master, had a similar experience on the coast of Sumatra in 1838. While the

mate and four seamen were ashore, a large number of Malays boarded the vessel and killed the captain. The crew escaped, some by ascending the rigging, and others by swimming ashore. The Malays plundered the ship of everything movable and then left. The men aloft descended, took a boat and rowed to a French bark lying at an adjacent port. The next morning, with assistance rendered by the French vessel, the crew returned to the *Eclipse* and found her deserted. The mate took charge, and during the following night set sail and left the island.

CHAPTER XIII

The Essential Qualities in a Shipmaster—Journal of Captain Stuart—Ship Hard and Fast on Shore—Four of the Crew Sick—The Situation Truly Deplorable—Supposed Pirates Prove to be Friendly Dutchmen—One of the Sick Sailors Dies—Again at Sea—Strenuous Experiences in Gales of Wind—Visit from Captain Derby of the Ship *Margaret*—Captain Carnes Discovers Pepper Growing Wild on the Coast of Sumatra—Salem Monopolizes the Pepper Trade.

A SHIPMASTER might be a skillful navigator and a strict disciplinarian and still fail of success, if he lacked one great essential—a practical knowledge of business and the laws governing trade in different countries, together with a ready faculty to dispose of his cargo and purchase another to the best advantage for home shipment. Occasionally, however, the owners sent a “supercargo” on a voyage to transact the necessary business, and to attend to the clerical work.

The journal of Captain James Stuart, which

he kept on a voyage to the coast of Java, is of surpassing interest. He sailed from Salem, September 25, 1801, in the ketch *Three Friends*, for Mauritius, Batavia, and a market. Extracts from

CAPTAIN STUART'S JOURNAL

“Judging myself up with the east of Madura, hove to. At midnight made sail and stood off and on till 7 A.M. To my great surprise found we were driven quite to the eastward on the coast of two small islands. Ends light breezes.

“Jan. 13.—At 2 P.M., the wind having died away and finding we still lose ground, brought to in 25 fathoms water in fine sand, the current running by log $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles E. by S. At 7 A.M., having a small breeze from the south'd made sail with the intention of passing to north'd and west'd of the northernmost isle, but the wind falling off, brought to again. I went on shore; could find no fresh water; shot several small birds. This island is surrounded with sand shoals, stretching on the N.W. part $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles into

the sea on the eastern, northern and southern parts half a mile. Saw several fishing prows. Went on board. Ends wind N. W.

“Jan. 14.—Begins with fresh breezes from northwest. Came alongside two prows with turtle. These people appear not so ferocious as the people of Java. Finding it impossible to round the island, hoisted out the pinnace and sent her to seaward to see if we could pass to leeward.

“Jan. 15.—At 2 P.M., by signal from the boat, found that a safe landing-place had been found, weighed anchor and stood down ; passed between the islands, having from 12 to 14 fathoms water; hereabouts all sandy. Hauled upon the wind with intentions to pass to the westward of Gilbonn (?), but the wind heading, obliged us to bear off and pass between that and Hog Island. At 6 A.M. cleared both, being in a fair way for the Straits of Bally. At night heavy thunder and lightning with very black clouds. At 7 A.M. the wind very light and inclining to southward ; the straits in sight, bearing south-southwest, distance twelve leagues.



William Gray (1760-1825).

Mr. Gray owned, in 1807, fifteen ships, seven barks, thirteen brigs, and one schooner, or one-fourth of the tonnage of the port of Salem. His stately mansion was subsequently occupied as a hotel (the Essex Coffee House). Mr. Gray was elected Lieut.-Governor of Massachusetts in 1810-11.

From the original portrait by Stuart.

“Jan. 16.—Begins with fresh, contrary wind ; beating into the straits ; having got half way in, the wind falling off and current against us, came to anchor in 23 fathoms, sandy ; the Java shore distant one half mile. At half past 6 P.M., the current having shifted, weighed anchor and drove down with the stream ; light airs from the Java coast ; at dark lost sight of the *Margaret*, which ship we had previously seen. The wind being from the western quarter, carried us quite on the Bally side of the current, carrying us round a point, and shortly after within a cable’s length of the shore. We drove along the shore a few minutes when we found 30 fathoms water. Let go the stream anchor and brought her up at about 150 feet distance from the rocks. Here we rode a short time. At 9 P.M. came a light air off the land, the boat being ahead, cut the cable, not having time or opportunity to heave it up ; in a moment the wind died away, and came right on shore. All sail being set, she took aback and in an instant she struck.

“We immediately hove over our after guns, started all the water casks and wood off deck, and, in short, everything that could tend to lighten her, but it was all to no purpose. She remained hard and fast. It was supposed little could be done on our part, the current running five to six miles an hour, the wind, what there was, right on shore; four men sick. Fired minute-guns as signals of distress; was answered by the *Margaret*, who, owing to her superiority in sailing, had anchored in Palambang, also by the Dutch battery. Our situation at this time was truly deplorable, driven on shore on this savage and inhuman coast of Bally, our vessel on her beam-end, and four of our men sick and not able to work one of our great guns; the idea of losing our ship and cargo, ourselves massacred by the savages, when we were in some measure relieved by the appearance of Captain Derby from the *Margaret*, with six men, who, on learning our situation, left us and went back to the Dutch settlement to procure prows in order to lighten us.

“ At 3 A.M. saw three prows approaching us fast, full of men ; concluded they were the savages. Finding it impossible in our weak state to defend ourselves, ordered all the powder and arms down the forecandle, which was closed, and which I knew we could defend to the last, being accessible only in one place, naturally we supposed they would not set fire to the after part of the ship, for sake of plunder, and if they did it would be as well to remain where we were. Everything being in this train, and they within hail, I ordered one of the boats alongside. It was manned by Dutch soldiers and they were sent by the Governor of Palambang to defend us from the savages. The officers came on board and ordered all the black soldiers to make fires on the beach abreast the vessel. In the morning came Captain Derby with boats, prows, etc. Landed all our spare spars and carried them to slack water; carried our short anchor out and took out two prows of coffee. Ends fine weather.

“ Jan. 18.—Begins fine and pleasant. At
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8 P.M., the tide having risen to its usual height, hove her off; not having any wind, lay at anchor all night. In the morning brought on board all our spars, and at 10 A.M., coming up a breeze, weighed anchor and stood toward Palambang. At 5 P.M. came to anchor in six fathoms.

“Jan. 19.—Went on shore with Captain Derby to wait on the governor and thank him for his assistance to us. When we landed we found his coach waiting, which carried us to his house, a sort of castle, situated in the fort, having a drawbridge, over which we passed. Being introduced to the governor, we were not only pleased with his manner, but surprised with his generous and open behavior. The pleasure with which he beheld us safe in his truly hospitable house is not easily described, suffice it to say that during the whole of our stay here we had the happiness of seeing his friendship towards us daily increase. Nor did he even stop here, but loaded us with presents on our departure, when, after we had procured wood and water and fresh

stock and satisfied all around us, we set sail on the afternoon of Jan. 22.

“Jan. 23.—Begins squally, with rain at 3 P.M., the current setting south ; weighed and stood out ; light wind, made small way. At midnight died John Kenny of relapsed fever and dysentery. Buried him in the deep.

“Jan. 24.—Begins and continues with light winds. At 7 P.M. the S. E. part of the island of Java bore N. W., distance seven leagues. Three men sick ; the ship *Margaret* in company.

“Jan. 25.—Begins pleasant ; at 1 P.M. felt an uncommon motion ; sounded and found no bottom ; concluded it to be the effects of an earthquake ; at 2 felt two small shocks more, all of which was felt by the *Margaret*. Heavy swell and fresh gales ; obliged to take in sail at sundry times. Reduced all sail except the close-reefed topsail ; at 3 A.M. experienced a very heavy gust of wind ; began to take in the topsails as fast as possible ; at 4 A.M. sounded the pumps and found she had eighteen inches water ;

took in mainsail and foretop-mast staysail; remaining under the foresail; all hands to the pumps, without distinction; she still keeps gaining; took in the foresail and set main-staysail.

“The water having increased to thirty inches in the weather pump, the wind blowing a severe hurricane, one man dead and three others sick, our situation was again deplorable. At 9 A.M. fired signals of distress to the ship *Margaret*, and wore ship to the northward to see if she made as much water on the starboard side. In wearing, a sea broke on us and carried away our stern boat, some beef, a live bullock, etc. We soon found she did not leak so bad on this side. At meridian freed her; could receive no assistance from the *Margaret*. Ends hard gales.

“Jan. 26.—Begins with heavy gales and high sea; wore ship to southward; all hands to the pumps. At 3 A.M., thirty inches of water; wore ship to northward; at 10 A.M. freed her again; the water thick with sugar; wore ship to southward; started the re-

mainder of our water off deck; plenty of coffee coming up the pumps; shipping much water. Ends with high seas and heavy gales.

“Jan. 27.—Begins with violent gales and high sea; everything washed off deck. At 3 P.M., the water having risen to thirty-two inches, obliged us to wear ship to northward, in order, if possible, to free her. At 7 P.M., both pumps choked with coffee. Having reduced the well to fifteen inches, at 9 P.M. got the starboard pump to work; kept pumping all night until 4 A.M. we freed her. All hands took some raw smoked-beef, bread, and cherry rum, and dropped asleep, being quite exhausted, not having slept or been off deck for sixty hours. At 7 A.M., the wind having died away, Captain Derby with some difficulty came on board; found a leak at the end of the transom; cut away the quarter badges and found several more; carpenters employed stopping them, several hands from the *Margaret* lending assistance. Ends moderate with light seas. Island of Lombok bearing N., distant nine

or ten leagues, and some land to eastward also in sight.

“Jan. 28.—Begins moderate; employed clearing the pump-well and putting the vessel in order; all night moderate. . . . At 8 A.M. the west end of Lombok bore N.N.E., distance twelve leagues, from which I take my departure, the ship *Margaret* still in company. There is a coral bank on the Bally side which runs off three-quarters of a mile; my mate found it only two feet (depth of water); here the tide flows about twelve feet. This shoal I have not found in any charts which I have seen. The currents run here five to six miles an hour. . . .

“As I find myself perplexed about crossing the equator—not having any directions on homeward-bound journals on board—after surveying the chart and coast of America, the northwest direction of which changes the southeast trades, especially in summer, into a more south wind, the set of the trade rushing towards the coast. The increased rapidity and westerly character of the current formed by these winds all tend-

ing to facilitate a passage, made me determine to cross the equator in 38° longitude. I was not disappointed. . . . At 4 P.M., July 15, 1802, 'made Nantucket off the wind-mill and hauled to Gay Head, it being hazy.' July 16, arrived home."

CAPTAIN CARNES'S MYSTERIOUS VOYAGE

The first vessel that ever sailed direct from this country to Sumatra was from Salem, and a Salem captain commanded the last American vessel that brought pepper from that island.

Captain Jonathan Carnes touched at the port of Bencoolen in 1793, and while there learned that pepper grew wild on the north-western coast of Sumatra. On his voyage home it is quite probable that he built many air-castles touching the immense wealth which would accrue to himself and his native city by trading with the Malays and monopolizing the traffic in their great staple. Nor were his wildest dreams unrealized, as the subsequent commercial relations with that port bore ample proof.

He returned to Salem full of plans, schemes, and hopes. He was not long in imparting his important discovery to Jonathan Peele, one of Salem's wealthy merchants, who quickly saw the advantages to be derived from carrying out the plans formulated by the sagacious Carnes. Mr. Peele soon had a schooner built suited to the trade contemplated, and she was placed in command of Carnes. This vessel was named the *Rajah*, and was only 130 tons burden, and carried four guns, with a crew of ten men. She left port in 1795, the destination of the vessel being kept a profound secret, even to neighboring merchants. The clearance papers of the vessel showed that her objective point was India. The cargo consisted of two pipes of brandy, fifty-eight cases of gin, twelve tons of iron, tobacco, salmon, etc.

Eighteen months passed by and no tidings of the *Rajah* came to the anxious Mr. Peele, until one day, when it was more than probable he had been peering seaward with his trusty spyglass, she was discovered coming up the harbor. The anchor was soon let

go and a boat conveyed Captain Carnes to the wharf, where he received hearty greetings from the owner and his many friends. The curious were not long in finding out the character of the cargo, which proved to be pepper in bulk, and was sold at a profit of seven hundred per cent. It was the first cargo of pepper imported into this country.

The merchants of Salem were anxious to find out where the cargo came from, but the matter still remained a secret. As the *Rajah* was being prepared for another voyage, the Salem merchants became more curious and manifested a determination to find out Captain Carnes's destination; so they fitted out and despatched several vessels for Bencoolen, at which port it was known the captain had received his first information about his new port of trade. But they were not successful, and their ventures had to be turned in other directions. The secret, however, was not of long duration. At the opening of the last century the mystery was swept away, and traffic with Sumatra was no longer a monopoly.

The brig *Rajah* and several other vessels subsequently made successful voyages to the island; among the most notable were those of the ship *America*, which made two voyages under the respective commands of Captain John Crowninshield and Captain Jeremiah Briggs. On the first voyage in 1801, she brought to Salem 815,792 pounds of pepper, and on the second, in 1802, 760,000 pounds of the same article. The aggregate duty paid on the cargoes of these two voyages amounted to \$103,874.03.

The trade with Sumatra soon assumed such importance that a large part of the pepper consumed in this country was distributed from the port of Salem, and, in fact, many other countries had to depend largely on Salem merchants for their supply of pepper. As has been well said: "Salem was not only the first at Sumatra, but the first to make it safe for others to follow her lead, and as long as American vessels visited that coast their commanders were provided with copies of the charts prepared by these Salem shipmasters." In vessels of but 150 tons those



Ship *America*. Famous Privateer in the War of 1812. Built in Salem in 1804 by
Retire Becket.

From a painting by Anton Roux, as the ship lay in the harbor of Marseilles.

early captains boldly set sail for ports never before visited by Americans, and without chart or guide of any kind made their way amid coral reefs and along foreign shores.

As late as 1831, when a United States Government vessel sailed for the East Indies, it was stated, in the journal kept, that it was the original intention of the commander to prepare charts and sailing directions for the guidance of other mariners, but that he found this duty had been much more ably performed than it could have been by him with his limited materials. For this important service the whole world is indebted to Captain Charles M. Endicott and James D. Gillis of Salem.

CHAPTER XIV

Voyage of Captain Nichols in the Ship *Active*—His Journal Replete with Instructive Information—Description of the City of Funchal—Catching Fish—St. Paul's Island—Pen-Pictures of Colombo—Ceylon and its Coast—Meeting with Difficulty in Finding Market for Cargo—Arrives at Madras—George Cleveland's Notes on Nagasaki.

THE ship *Active*, of Salem, George Nichols, master, was in London in 1801, with a cargo of Surat cotton, which was not allowed to be landed and sold until Captain Nichols had—under protest it is safe to say—acquiesced in the arbitrary domination of the rich East India Company. After disposing of his cargo and taking on board various kinds of goods, he proceeded to sea, bound for Madeira.

THE CAPTAIN'S STORY

“We sailed with a pleasant breeze from the south'd, which continued to carry us clear of the English Channel, bound for Ma-

deira with spice and sundry kinds of English goods adapted to the India market, with bills of exchange to purchase wine at Madeira. No vessel is permitted to carry goods from England direct to the East Indies, as this is the entire privilege of the company (East India), but, to avoid the risk, most vessels will clear out from England for Madeira or Teneriffe, and thence clear for any port they may wish.

“January 7, 1801.—Anchored safely in Funchal roads. This is the only port which is visited by foreigners. It is situated on the S.E. part of the island. In the summer season this port is considered as being safe for shipping, but dangerous in the winter, on account of the frequent gales of wind from the south, at which time it is necessary for all ships to leave the roads and put to sea. The town of Funchal is the metropolis of this island, and it is situated in a delightful valley, in the form of a crescent. Its streets are very narrow and paved. The houses are principally of brick and painted white. One of the greatest inconveniences

is in landing, which is upon a beach of sand and small stones, where there is always a surf, and, provided there is much wind in the roads, the surf is so great as to prevent any communication between the shipping and the shore. Loading or discharging a vessel is done by boats constructed for that purpose, which will carry from five to eight tons of goods each. The town of Funchal contains about 15,000 inhabitants, principally Portuguese, who are lazy and indolent to the extreme. The merchants are, in general, English and Scotch. Those with whom I transacted my business were of the firm of Newton, Guardon, & Murdock, one of the first houses in the island.

“The produce of the island is principally wine, of which article there are 16,000 pipes annually exported. Provided it was inhabited by any other people than Portuguese, it would produce, exclusive of wine, every necessary of life; instead of which, they are dependent upon other nations for almost everything they want. I think this might be remedied by banishing the greater part

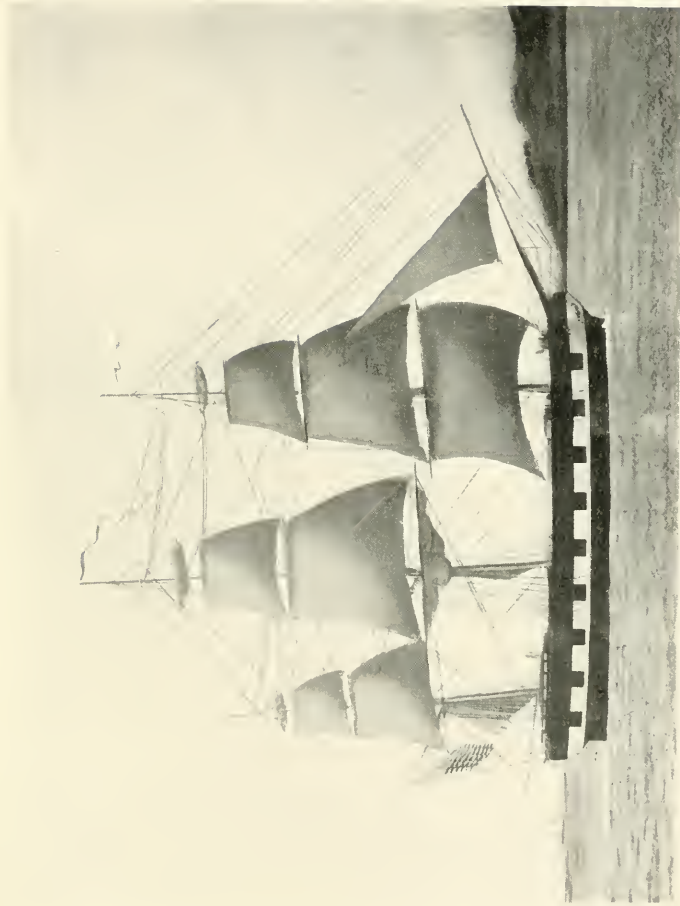
of the many priests and friars, who serve only to oppress the inhabitants and encourage indolence.

“The best season for visiting this island is in the summer, when the weather is always warm and pleasant, and the island under a state of cultivation. I was never more pleased with any place, although it was in the winter season at the time of my being there. From the roads you have one of the finest prospects imaginable—the great number of handsome seats rising one above another almost to the summit of the highest mountains, which are frequently lost in the clouds, together with the beautiful verdure, which appeared upon every part.

“Having completed my business I sailed from this place for Colombo on the 11th of January. . . . Saw Palma and Ferro, the two most westward of the Canary Islands. On account of steady breezes, shaped my course to go about fifty or sixty leagues to the westward of them, and had strong gales and tolerably pleasant weather to the latitude of 5° North, where I left the N.E. trades;

thence to the equator had a great deal of calm, flattering weather, and most part of the time heavy rain, which enabled me to fill up my empty casks with fresh water.

“On the eighteenth day from Madeira, crossed the equator in longitude $21^{\circ} 31'$ west of Greenwich; at same time met the S.E. trades. . . . Brisk gales and pleasant weather to latitude of about 30° , when I left the trade winds; thence to latitude 38° had light breezes and variable; after that had most part of the time strong breezes from the westward until I arrived at the island of St. Paul, keeping between the latitude 38° and $39^{\circ} 30'$, which island I saw on the 24th of March, having been from Madeira seventy-two days. It is a small but very high island, and may easily be seen at the distance of fifteen leagues in clear weather. It abounds in seals and its coast with fish. The weather being moderate, I took four hands with me in the boat and went inshore to get some fish; being abreast of the southwest part of the island, was obliged to go close in with the surf, as the sounding is



Ship *St. Paul*. (Type of 1840.)

From an oil painting in possession of Geo. H. Allen, whose father, Chas. H. Allen, commanded the ship during many voyages.

but a very little distance off, excepting from the north part of the island, upon which part is the only landing-place. There being at this time a large swell, I did not attempt to go ashore, but caught in about thirty minutes, with three lines, ninety fish, averaging about six pounds each, which I may with safety say were equal to any fish I ever saw. They are in form very much like a haddock, but in other respects different from any fish I have ever seen. They are extremely fat and of a delicious flavor.

“Crossed the equator in longitude $79^{\circ} 30'$ east of Greenwich, and from leaving Madeira $89\frac{1}{2}$ days; thence to Point de Galle had light breezes. Friday, 17th April, saw the island of Ceylon, Point de Galle bearing east, distance four or five leagues. The wind being from eastward, I coasted along shore, from three to four miles distant, and the same day anchored off Colombo, in nine fathoms of water. This harbor is very easy of access and safe during the northeast monsoons; but the southwest winds blow directly in, which makes it very unsafe for

shipping in the southwest monsoons, viz., from the 1st of May to the 1st of December.

“Colombo, which is the metropolis of the island of Ceylon, is situated in lat. 7° N. and long. $80^{\circ} 6'$ E. of London. The commerce of this place is very trifling. The imports are very little, but its exports are more considerable. The staple commodities are cinnamon, pepper, arrack, cocoanut-oil, and cordage. The cinnamon has formerly been monopolized by the Dutch, and is at present by the English East India Company, who are in possession of all the plantations which produce it. This place is very seldom visited by foreigners. There are but few merchants here, and even these are not able to purchase goods to a great amount. Specie is so very scarce that I believe it would have been impossible to have obtained 20,000 rupees on any terms; and the produce which is to be obtained is unsuitable for return cargoes to Europe or America.

“The streets are tolerably clean, and regularly laid out. The houses are in general

but one story high, built of dirt and chenam. Still there are some which are occupied by the governor and principal people which are handsome. There are not any public edifices which deserve notice. It is said to be strongly fortified toward the sea, and is garrisoned by a considerable number of troops. Its harbor is well calculated for business. Beef, pork, and poultry are tolerably cheap and plenty. The market is extremely well supplied with most kinds of tropical fruits and vegetables.

“Having nothing further to remark, excepting that after lying here three days without being able to sell any part of my cargo, I departed for the Coromandel coast, intending to stop at Pondicherry, and from thence proceed for Madras.

“I shall endeavor to describe the coast of Ceylon as far as it comes within my view. Between Point de Galle and Colombo the back land is very high, particularly Adona Peak, which may be seen in clear weather fifteen or sixteen leagues, but the land near the sea is so low as to be scarcely seen at

three leagues. . . . In sailing this coast the land had a beautiful appearance, being very level and quite covered with cocoanut-trees; from which produce great quantities of arrack is made. After leaving Colombo I was prevented from approaching the coast of Ceylon near enough to describe it, it being the season for the shifting of the monsoon, and the weather began to assume an unfavorable aspect, for which reason I did not come any nearer than just to see the high sand.

“I experienced a northerly current of about half a mile per hour until I reached the extreme of the island. . . . Being wrongly informed respecting Pondicherry, I stopped there expecting to find a market for a part of my cargo, but could not dispose of anything. There is not a person in the place doing business, and excepting the garrison of about one hundred Europeans there were not one hundred white persons in the place. The few foreign articles required came from Madras. I arrived here on the 20th of April, and as I sailed again the

same day it is not in my power to say much respecting the place. It is well known to have been one of the greatest places for business in India when in possession of the French, but since it was taken by the English it has been entirely neglected, as evidently appears to a person on first entering it. The houses are in general handsome, and some of them very elegant, but everything appears to be in a decayed state. Estates that were at the commencement of the present revolution very valuable may be purchased for a trifling sum.

“The streets are handsomely laid out, and near the centre of the town is a large square, which I imagine was formerly used for a parade. . . . The anchorage is abreast of the town in from six to eight fathoms of water. From one and a half to two and a half miles off shore, like all other places on the coast, it always has a large surf, in which no ship's boats can land. They have large boats constructed for the purpose, which, instead of being nailed, are sewed together. I sailed from this place on

the 26th of April, and arrived at Madras in about twelve hours. The 'Presidency' is considered as being one of the greatest commercial places in India.

"There were about 160 vessels lying in the roads, of different nations. There is no harbor and it is one of the worst roadsteads on the Coromandel coast. There are most of the time fresh breezes and a strong current, which occasion rough sea and make the shipping to labor very much, and it is as disagreeable a place as ever I was at. Madras is strongly fortified, both towards the roads and the town by the Fort St. George. The greatest part of the business is transacted within the fort and at the residences of most of the white merchants. The houses in the fort are, in general, very handsome, and built from a composition of stone and dirt and cemented and plastered with *chenam*, and painted or whitewashed.

"The houses in the suburbs are built from the same materials, but are much smaller and are in general destitute of neatness and elegance. . . . The imports of the place

are great, consisting of almost every article of the manufacture of Europe—wines, brandy, Geneva porter, cheese, hams, etc., which articles are principally supplied by the India Company's ships, and they always have the preference in the sales of a foreign vessel.

. . . The exports consist principally of cotton, manufactured goods of different descriptions, and of a superior quality to the Bengal goods, and the prices are much greater. There is a duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on all goods exported.

“Foreigners who bring cargoes to this place find it difficult to get specie for their goods, it being very scarce. For certain reasons they take their payment in the goods manufactured upon the coast. . . .

The inhabitants of Madras are composed of almost all nations. The native population are indolent and inoffensive. Their prince or sovereign—the King of Arcot,—who resides in the vicinity of Madras, may with propriety be considered a prisoner, as he is continually guarded by the English, and allowed no communication with foreigners

without a special permit from the Governor. He is said to be allowed a handsome salary from the India Company and also the title of king, but not the least power.

“Living at Madras is extremely dear, particularly to put up at a public house, for which reason it is the general custom, with those who tarry as long as three or four weeks, to hire a house and keep “bachelor’s hall,” which is much less expensive. The market is well supplied, but every necessary of life is very dear. Every person who has any business keeps a palanquin, with six servants to carry him about. Respecting the customs of the natives, I am sorry that it is not in my power to describe them. I can only observe that they profess a great deal of superstition with regard to their religion, etc.

“Having completed my business, I embarked on Tuesday, June 2d, and sailed from the place, bound for Salem. As the S.W. monsoon was at this time blowing in its full force, it was unfavorable to my course. Had pleasant gales and a smooth sea to the

westward of Cape Aquilla, but the weather being hazy prevented me from seeing it as I passed its meridian, latitude $35^{\circ} 20'$ During the time of my being on the banks, and also to the eastward, had from 20 to 35 miles currents every day, which, I judge, set to the south and westward, trending with the coast. We had soundings on the bank of Nantucket, and on the 25th arrived at my desired port, Salem."

Journals from the sea are never devoid of interest. Following are extracts from a diary kept by George Cleveland, clerk to Captain Samuel Derby, master of the ship *Margaret*.

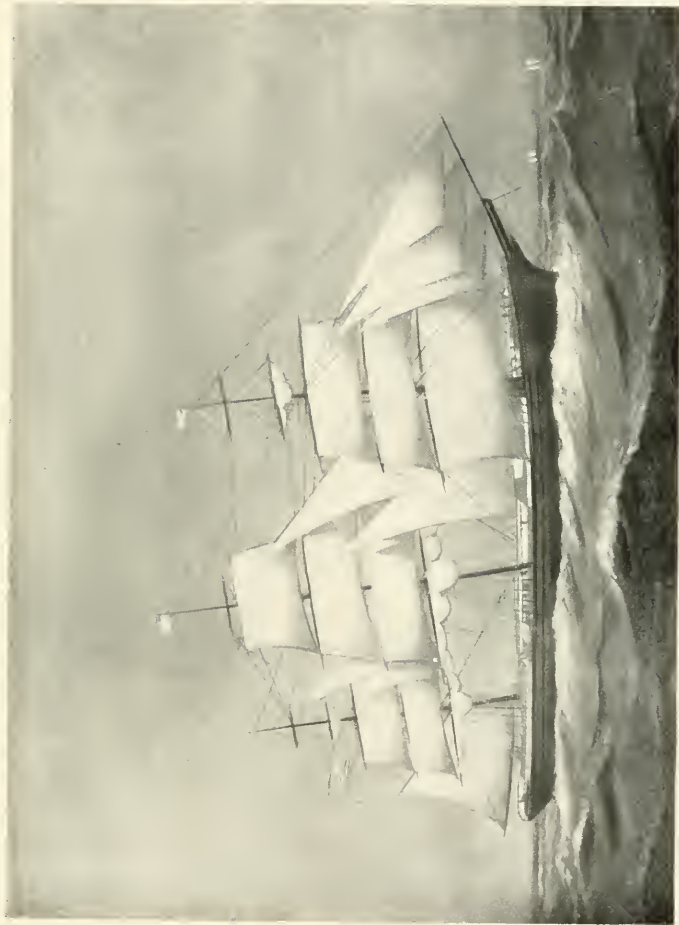
NOTES ABOUT NAGASAKI

"We sailed from Salem on the 19th of November, 1800, bound for Sumatra, having \$50,000 in specie on board, and a small assorted cargo. Bencoolen roads, Sumatra, was reached on the 10th of April, 136 days from Salem. Without stopping to trade at Sumatra, the vessel proceeded to Batavia, arriving there on the 25th of April. While

at the last-named port, Captain Derby made a bargain with the Dutch East India Company to take the annual freights to and from Japan, and left for that place with his cargo, June 20, 1801."

The *Margaret* arrived at the port of Nagasaki July 19th, being obliged to fire salutes and dress the vessel with flags before entering port. The *Margaret* was the first Salem vessel, and the second American vessel, to visit Japan. The ship *Franklin*, of Boston, commanded by James Devereux, of Salem, was the first American vessel which traded with Japan. Commercial intercourse was not opened with that country until half a century later; the American treaty, the result of the expedition under Commodore Perry, which opened the Japanese ports to the world, being dated March 31, 1854. Previous to this time all the trade with Japan was in the hands of the Dutch, who were obliged to submit to the grossest indignities.

"In the first place, we went to Facquia's, an eminent 'stuff' merchant. Here we were entertained in such a manner as we little



Clipper Ship *Formosa*, 1300 tons. (Type of 1870.) Lost on Tweeling Island,
Allass Straits, 1880. Silsbee, Pickman, & Allen, owners.

From an oil painting in possession of Geo. H. Allen.

expected. We had set before us as a repast, pork, fowls, meso, eggs, boiled fish, sweet-meats, cake, various fruits, and sacky tea. The lady of the house was introduced, who drank tea with each of us, as is the custom of Japan. She appeared to be a modest woman. The place we next visited was a temple, to which we ascended from the street by at least 200 stone steps. Adjoining this was the burying-ground. We went next to the glass-house—which was on a small scale,—thence to a hardware merchant's, where we were entertained with great hospitality. Thence we went to a tea-house, or hotel, where we dined. After dinner we were entertained with various feats of dancing and tumbling. Towards dark returned to the island, and so great was the crowd in the streets to see us pass that it was with difficulty we could get along. The number of children we saw was truly astonishing. The streets are narrow, and at the end of every street is a gate, which is locked at night. The houses are of two stories, built of wood.

“The Japanese observed one feast when we were there. It was in remembrance of the dead. The ceremonies were principally in the night. The first was devoted to feasting, at which they fancy their dead friends to be present. The second and third nights the graves are lighted with paper lamps, and, situated as they are on the side of a hill, make a most brilliant appearance. On the fourth night, at 3 o’clock, the lamps are all brought down to the water and put into small straw barks, with paper sails, made for the occasion, and, after putting in rice, fruit, etc., they are set afloat. This exhibition was very fine.

“As the time was approaching for our departure we began to receive our returns from the interior—brought many hundred miles. These consisted of the most beautiful lacquered ware, such as waiters, writing-desks, tea-caddies, knife-boxes, and tables. We also received a great variety of silks, fans in large quantities, and a great variety of porcelain. The East India Company’s cargo had already been put on board. The

principal article was copper, in small bars. The company's ships have been obliged to take their departure from the anchorage opposite Nagasaki on a certain day, to the lower roads, no matter whether it blew high or low, foul or fair, even if one thousand boats should be required to tow them down. We, of course, had to do as our predecessors had done. Early in November we went to this anchorage and remained a few days, when we sailed for Batavia, where we arrived safely after a passage of a month."

CHAPTER XV

Stories of Shipwreck and Disaster—The Wreck of the Ship *Formosa*—
An Island Reached by Crew—Submerged at High Tides—Sail-
ors Build a Platform on Coconut-Trees—Loss of Ship *Humboldt*
—Captain Powars Tells a Thrilling Story—The *Margaret* Never
Returned.

WHO can describe the horrors of shipwreck? It is a terrible thing to be stranded on a desolate shore amid the seething breakers, where thunder the mad waves as they lash the rocks; but infinitely more terrible it must be when wrecked on some distant sea, away from the usual track of vessels, with the expectation that the ship will go down at any moment, leaving nothing but a frail boat for the officers and crew, in which to cast about for succor and help. The mariner, driven upon a lee shore, may have strong hopes of being rescued, especially if he be on a civilized coast; but to be on the broad ocean in an open boat, without

water or provisions, with the possibility of starvation and a lingering death, is enough to appall the stoutest heart. Salem has had her share of marine disasters. Many are her

“ — Ships that sailed for sunny isles
But never came to shore.”

In most cases the loss of vessels was not the fault of shipmasters. For instance, in thick and stormy weather, when there is no chance to take the sun for several days, when there may be strong and variable currents, also sunken rocks and hidden reefs to avoid, is it a wonder that, under such circumstances, when a vessel is driven from her true course, with no means of ascertaining either latitude or longitude, she is overtaken by disaster ?

The *Formosa*, one of the finest American clipper ships then afloat, of some 1300 tons, owned by Silsbee, Pickman, & Allen of Salem, sailed from Boston April 25, 1879, for Madras, Manila, and Zebu, and went ashore on Tweeling Island at the entrance to Allass Straits, January 3, 1880. This shipwreck

will serve to show how powerless the officers and crew of a ship are, under certain conditions, to avert disaster. The following extracts are from the ship's log-book:

“Friday, Jan. 2, 1880. Trying hard all day to work out Lombok, but there being such a strong tide the ship would not mind her helm. At 5 P.M. squared away for Allass Straits. At 6 P.M. the center of Pandeto Isle bore S.W. $\frac{1}{4}$ S. Peak of Lombok, E. by S. $\frac{1}{4}$ S. At midnight the center of Tweeling Island bore south. . . . Throughout, baffling winds with strong gales, then dying out calm. Shortened sail to topsail.

“Saturday.—Northerly breeze. Ship not making anything on account of strong tide. At 6 P.M. a terrific squall. Wore ship; split foresail, lower foretopsail, and blew foretopgallant-sail all away while hanging in the buntlines; all hands unbending and rebending sails. At 9 P.M. set the topsail and main-topgallant-sails. At 10 P.M. set the mainsail. At 11.35 P.M. was called by the second mate; he believed that we were pretty near to the land. Went on deck and found

the ship heading N.W. with a light breeze, and considered her all right. At 11.55 P.M. the mate again called me; found the wind had died out and the ship would not steer; sounded, no bottom at 58 fathoms; tried to get her around as she seemed to be drifting inshore; sounded again and got 15 fathoms; cleared away the anchor, it being in the shoe. Next sounded, got 11 fathoms; let go the anchor; next sounded and got five fathoms, and ship touching forward in the northern point of the western Tweeling; time about 2.15, midnight; stern swung around to the eastward and she grounded hard amidships. Laid the kedge off on the starboard quarter in 16 fathoms of water and tried to heave her off, but could not. As the port anchor would not hold, got the stream anchor out with 90 fathoms of 7½-inch line in twenty fathoms of water; took it to the windlass and hove, but could not start her, as the tide had begun to fall. Hove up the port bower and tried to lay it out, but the rollers were so heavy that the lashing parted and damaged both boats

by spreading them, so let it lay where it dropped.

“As the tide fell, the rollers came in heavier and she began to pound. The tide continuing to fall, she came down with a thunderous crash and the mainmast began to settle. Kept pumps a-going at intervals as the men could be spared from other work. Sounded as soon as ship struck and found 17 inches of water in the well. She did not make much water until she began to pound again. At 6.30 A.M. 35 inches in well, and at 6.50 45 inches.”

When the water in the well had risen to ninety-five inches, Captain Reynolds, finding it impossible to gain on the leak, commenced to land what he could from the ship. The sight must have been disheartening—that ship lying stranded and helpless upon the rocks of a desolate shore, even though it was but one of many similar scenes in the experience of mariners. But to return to the entries in the log-book.

“Jan. 4. At 12.50 P.M. the captain took a boat and five men to procure assistance ;

the remainder employed in removing provisions and water from ship, having found a small coral patch which apparently will be covered at high tide, but the only place along the coast where we can so land at all.

“At 4 P.M. the captain returned. No assistance—no white man to be found. At 7 P.M. the water was up to the main hatch ; ship lying over on the starboard side. Thinking it dangerous to stop on board, we all camped on shore. At daylight when we boarded the ship, found the cabin half full of water with all the masts a-settling. Finding that the boats were liable to be stove, rigged a raft and continued to save all we could. At 8 A.M. a prow from Lombok side with four natives came to us. Having a man who could understand Malay, captain made arrangements for them to take him to Ampanam where he could get to Souribaga.”

Here the mate again gives an account of the condition of the ship, which was fast breaking up. Another calamity now stared them in the face, and this was that when

the tide was high it would submerge the island, so a platform had to be erected in some cocoanut-trees for their safety and protection.

“Jan. 10, there was another high tide and the island was completely covered and surf rolling in, endangering our stores.

“On the 13th of January, ten days after the ship went ashore, all hands were taken off the island by the steamer *Wm. McKinnon*. Nothing was then seen of the *Formosa* but the top of her masts.”

NOTE.—The *Formosa* was on her homeward passage laden with hemp from Manila, when lost. The underwriters paid \$250,000 for the loss of the ship and cargo.

Ill luck seems to have followed Captain Reynolds, whose experience in the ship *Formosa* has just been related. On his next voyage he was in command of the ship *Humboldt*, which sailed from Boston, October 18, 1882. Captain Powars—who was first mate of the ship—tells the story of her loss in a letter written to a friend in Salem, which is of an unusually interesting character.

WRECK OF THE "HUMBOLDT"

"The *Humboldt* sailed from Woo Sung, at the mouth of the Shanghae River, the following Autumn, and soon after leaving port, the weather shut in thick and the wind gradually increased. We ran through Formosa Channel that day, and at 11 P.M. were clear of all danger.

"Friday, noon, weather thick and blowing heavily, with very high sea, ship making a run of from 11 to 13 miles per hour. . . . Saturday, noon, the weather worse; the ship under lower fore and main-topsails; at 4 P.M. the barometer very low; the ship was hove to; in coming to the wind lost lower fore-topsail, the men getting frightened and leaving the braces. . . . I went on deck at 8 o'clock, and Captain Reynolds went below to try and get some sleep. . . . I went about hauling braces taut, and other ropes that were slatting about. Had just finished and was going forward along the main deck to have a look at the lookout man, when I heard a noise like distant thunder. I turned to run to the cabin to tell the captain the

wind was coming from S.W., and at the same time sang out to the man at the wheel to put the wheel hard-a-starboard. Before I got to the cabin door, the man on the lookout shouted 'Breakers ahead!' and at the same time a heavy sea broke on the stern. I jumped on the booby hatch, from there to the top of the after house, and sang out: 'All hands on deck!' When the ship went down on the next sea, the rudder was unhung and the mainstay carried away at masthead.

"We were gathered in the mizzen rigging, up out of the water, and when the vessel struck the bottom it was as much as we could do to keep from being shaken off. It could not have been more than five minutes before we were over the reef and in deep water again. As good fortune had it, the ship kept bow on to the sea, for had she laid broadside to it she would have been turned end over end. Some of the men were placed at the pumps, and others ordered to put bread and water into the two quarter-boats. As soon as we were clear

of the breakers, the wind died out altogether. We then went to work and got a hawser up to use as a drag astern. Braced yards around on starboard tack.

“At midnight the wind was blowing with typhoon force, and the men were hard at work at the pumps. About half past one the weather looked brighter to leeward, and we knew that meant breakers. I found the captain standing by the mizzenmast, on top of the house. I asked him to come up in the rigging and take a look. He followed me, but had not got far before he was satisfied that there were breakers under our lee. He told me to run forward and let go both anchors, and I should judge that by the sound there were about ten fathoms of water under us when the anchors touched bottom. About 45 fathoms of chain ran out before the ship came to the wind, and before she did so we felt her touch the rocks. We tried to stop her taking chain, but it was impossible, as it would ‘jump the wild cat’ with that strain on it, and so of course we went into the breakers.”

After giving a description of cutting the masts and other exciting scenes on board, Captain Powars continued : “ We went into the cabin to try and keep ourselves as comfortable as possible, but had not been there long before the ship broke in two in the middle, for above the roar of the wind and sea I heard a crash, and the partitions began to fall down. All made a rush up the after-way and got on the starboard quarter. As fast as we could we put a turn of rope around our bodies and held on. The beams that propped us up gradually broke away. At last we were so low that almost every sea washed some of us down over the bottom of the ship. The Chinese cook and steward stopped in the cabin and were drowned. At last a sea broke and washed some of us off, myself among the number. As soon as I rose to the surface and caught my breath, I started to swim with the sea, and had not taken more than a couple of strokes when my foot struck something like a rock, and I soon found I was where I could touch bottom. I stood up and found the water only



Captain Joseph Peabody (1757-1844).

Eminent as a merchant.

From the original portrait by Charles Osgood, a Salem painter of note.

to my waist, but, before I had time to look around me, another sea struck me and I went end over end with it.

“When I reached the surface again, seeing a piece of the wreck, I went and got on it. Shortly two men came along clinging to a spar, and I called to them to come to me, and they did so. We sat there a few moments, when one of the men said he did not believe we were drifting, and he jumped overboard and found we were tightly jammed in the rocks. All then took to the water and started for the land. The men having no shoes on, the coral cut them terribly at every step. We were soon on the beach, where we found others of the crew. Thirteen had found their way to land. The men soon began to complain of the cold, and tried to keep warm by running about, but soon gave that up, as they were so badly cut about the feet with the copper of the ship’s bottom.

“I sat down on a bale of goods, thinking that the captain, second mate, cook, steward, and three sailors were drowned, as there were 20 of us, all told, on board the ship.

. . . Daylight at last came, and one of the men called out, 'There are others coming ashore.'

"I looked in the direction he pointed and saw four heads moving in the water, and I at first thought they were seals. Those of us who could go ran down to the beach to assist the men. . . . Three got on shore, and as I turned back after the other, who was at some distance, but coming to the shore slowly, I found it was the captain. I should never have taken him for Captain Reynolds. He was as white as a ghost, and his face was terribly cut up. . . . When we had made the captain as comfortable as possible, I started with one man to see what there was on the island in the shape of water."

Here Captain Powars gives a description of their "prospecting" trip, and the discovery of water dripping through the rocks, and other occurrences of intense interest. Some of the provisions, canned goods, etc., drifted from the wreck. There, on that desolate island, the men remained for eight days, until hope had nearly given way to despair.

“We knew if we got a fire we should be all right for a long time, as there were plenty of birds and shell-fish. . . . When I awoke some one spoke to me, and I looked up and saw it was one of the men. He told me that a number of men were coming up the beach towards us. I looked and saw there were eight of them, and then lay down again. He soon told me he believed one was smoking a pipe, and that brought me on my feet in an instant. Upon seeing me they all shouted: ‘We’ve got a fire in camp!’ They had accomplished this by using the bull’s-eye of the binnacle as a burning glass, with the aid of a slow match, which had been found.”

The sufferers were at last rescued by the British steamer *Gordon Castle*, Captain Waring, bound to Hong-Kong, which had been driven from her course by wind and currents during thick weather. The above narrative is as full of fascination as the fictitious adventures of Robinson Crusoe, and marked by as wonderful Providences as any detailed in Cotton Mather’s *Magnalia*.

THE "MARGARET" NEVER RETURNED

The ship *Margaret*, of Salem, to which reference has been made, was wrecked at sea, May 20, 1810. She sailed from Naples, homeward bound, on the 10th of April, under command of Captain Fairfield, with a crew, including officers, of fifteen in number, together with thirty-one passengers. She passed through the Straits of Gibraltar the 22d of April. The following account is from the captain's story:

"Nothing out of the usual course occurred until the 20th of May, when, in latitude 40° N., long. $39^{\circ} 30'$ W., having strong breezes and rainy weather, took in royals, topgallant-studding-sails, fore and mizzen topgallant-sails, jibs, staysails, and mainsail. At meridian, the weather continuing rough, the foretop-mast studding-sail halyards parted, the studding-sail fell overboard, filled with water, and carried away the studding-sail boom. The lower studding-sail spanker and mizzen-topsail were taken in, just as a squall struck the ship, and in an instant the fore and main-topsails were clewed, and the or-

der given to let fly the sheets. The wind suddenly shifted from E.S.E. to S.W., and, although the helm was hard to weather, the ship could not be got before the wind, but was instantly hove on her beam ends.

“Every person on board being on deck reached either the bottom or side of the ship and held on. An axe was secured with which the weather lanyards of the shrouds and masts were cut away, which being done the ship righted, being full of water, her hatches off, chests, water-casks, etc., drifting about. The guns, anchors, caboose, and everything on deck were thrown overboard to lighten the ship, but all efforts were in vain, the starboard lanyards of the shrouds being deep under water and fast to the ship, and the sea making continual breach over her. During this time the longboat was being carried to and fro among the wreck of spars, bottom up, the pinnace smashed to pieces, and the stern boat lying at a short distance from the ship full of water and badly damaged. With great difficulty this boat was bailed out. The longboat was

finally secured and hauled alongside the ship, but it was found that its gunwales and stern were broken entirely off, the wood ends and garboard streak open, and large holes in the bottom, so that it was found impossible to bail the boat out, and it became necessary to upset it again with the hope of being able to stop some of the holes in the bottom, which was in part effected by driving the butts together and by putting canvas into the larger holes.

“The boat was again turned over, and by continued bailing with buckets it was kept from sinking. It was now evening, and the boat being hauled near to the ship for the purpose of getting canvas and oakum to stop the leak, as many men as could reach the boat jumped into it, and finding it would be again sunk if it remained so near the ship, it was found necessary to veer it to leeward of the ship at the distance of fifteen or twenty fathoms.

“There were then twelve in the boat, and soon another man jumped from the ship into the sea and made for the boat. He was

taken in, but finding that all on board were planning to pursue the same course, the occupants were obliged to keep farther off. The situation of those in the boat was stated to those on board the ship, and it also must have been evident to them that every exertion was made to keep it from sinking.

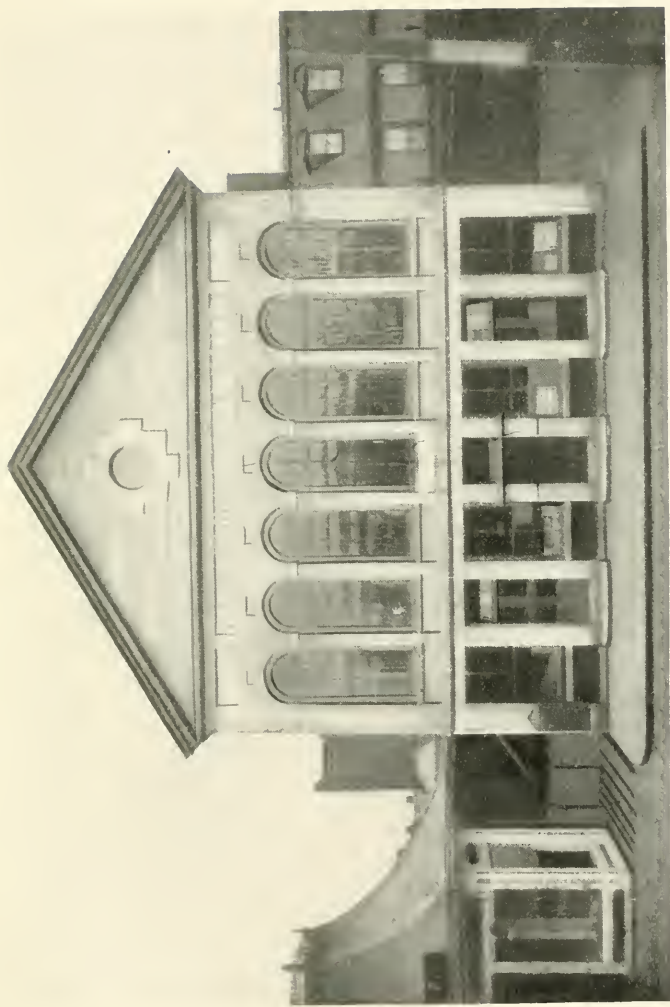
“During the night a rope from the boat was made fast to the ship, but it was with great difficulty that those on board were prevented from getting into the boat and sinking it. At this time there were thirteen in the boat, and two men were kept constantly bailing to keep it above water. The following morning the weather was pleasant and the sea was tolerably smooth. The people on the wreck were in a deplorable condition, and the same could be said of those in the boat. They kept entreating to be taken into the boat, but were answered that if any of them made an attempt to come into it, its occupants, notwithstanding their wretched condition, having no compass or any instrument by which they could direct their course, and not a single drop of fresh

water, would be compelled to cut adrift from the ship.

“About this time two casks of brandy and sundry other articles of the cargo drifted past the boat, among which were picked up the mizzen topgallant-sail, two spars, five oars, one cask of oil, one drowned pig, a goat, and a bag of bread. A keg of brandy was thrown from the ship, which was secured.

“It being now about 11 A.M., those on the wreck were again determined to get into the boat, and began by jumping into the sea. The boat was veered round and farther off from the ship, causing them to return.

“As it became evident that preparations were being made to gain the boat by those on the wreck, it was at last decided to cut the rope and leave them. A sail had been improvised from the mizzen-topsail, which had previously been secured, and those in the boat sailed away on their perilous voyage in the hope of falling in with some vessel. The nearest land was some four hundred miles distant. It was now about



Peabody Academy of Science, and East India Marine Museum.

noon, with a moderate breeze from the southward and westward. The course steered was as nearly east as possible, and in the direction, as near as could be judged, of the island of Corvo or Flores. When the ship was last seen she was lying in the same situation as when the boat left her.

“The course was continued to the eastward, the winds being variable from south-southeast to northwest. It required two to be kept constantly bailing, and the only guide the stars at night; and in dark, cloudy weather, by the heaving of the sea; and in the daytime, by judging from the bearing of the sun, when to be seen, and when not, by judgment alone. For four days the boat continued in this situation without seeing any vessel, but on Saturday, May 26th, at 1 P.M., a sail came in sight, which proved to be the brig *Poacher*, of Boston, Captain James Dunn, from Alicant, who took on board those in the boat. Nothing was afterwards heard of the *Margaret*, and it is supposed that those on the wreck found a watery grave.”

CHAPTER XVI

Short of Fresh Water Causes Alarm—Captain Williams's Invention to Make Salt Water Fresh—His "Still" Described by him—Notes on his Voyage—In Shoal Water.

THE Master Mariners were indued with that element of strength which comes from intuitive knowledge, as it were; hence their natural resources were always ready to be "drawn on at sight."

Captain Israel Williams sailed from Salem harbor in 1798, in the ship *Friendship*, for Batavia, to find a market. His cargo consisted of the staples suited to the East India trade. When in latitude $22^{\circ} 50'$ south, and longitude $21^{\circ} 46'$ west, the ship's supply of water gave out. Captain Williams was thinking however. It was said that he was uncommunicative, even to his first officer, who often walked the quarter-deck with him. Yes, he was meditating. A great responsi-

bility rested upon him. Not only were the lives of his officers and crew in his hands, but a valuable ship and cargo as well.

The captain went to his cabin in a thoughtful frame of mind, not even noticing that the careless helmsman had luffed the ship up into the wind so that every sail was flapping. When the captain again made his appearance on deck, he paced back and forth for a while, and then accosted his first officer as follows : “ Get up one of the empty beef barrels from the hold, also one of the muskets and take the barrel out. I’m going to try an experiment.”

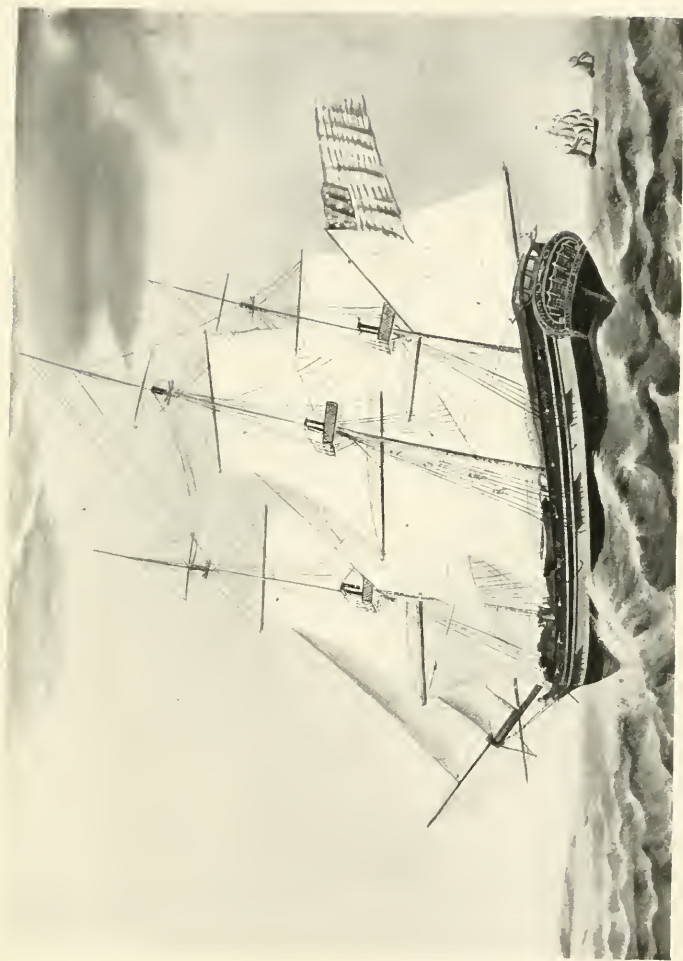
It was water, pure fresh water, they wanted.

“ They were as rich in having such a jewel,
As twenty seas, if all their sands were pearls ! ”

The rest of the story the captain tells in his journal as follows :

“ The following experiment for making fresh water from salt water, after some little reflection on the value of a due supply of fresh water at sea, I have found very much

to my satisfaction. That with little trouble salt water will yield good fresh water there is no question. Only with my ship's small boiler to supply the ship's company, 19 in number, in our necessitous circumstances, I ordered my carpenter to fix a wooden cover to the boiler as tight as possible, to which I had a perpendicular wooden pipe or neck bored with an inch auger, in length about 12 inches, in the top of which I had a box fitted very closely, secured with two iron hoops ; from the side of this box I had a short oblique wooden pipe that entered an old musket-barrel which had been taken out of its stock for this purpose ; this I called my ' worm,' and I passed it through a beef barrel filled with water, set on head ; through a hole bored near the upper chime on one side, and through the bilge in the opposite side thereof, it passed obliquely from the box, or still-head, through the beef barrel, and answered my purpose for a cooler. The end of the barrel of the gun came through the cooler about a foot, which made it convenient to keep a bucket under



Ship *Margaret*, that never returned.
From an oil painting by Benj. West.

to receive the water as it ran off. The water we received from the above process was remarkably clear, transparent, and fresh. I put about a gill into each copper of water of common wood ashes, the alkali of which I presume made the water soft. It may not be improper to observe that the box, which I call the 'still-house,' was only 7 or 8 inches square, which, if extended, would be more beneficial, as it would contain more vapor and of course produce a greater quantity of fresh water."

Further extracts from Captain Williams's journal give a description of his approach to St. Paul's Island, etc. :

"Dec. 15, at 5 P.M., we made the island of St. Paul E. by S., 10 miles distant. St. Paul's is famous for the resort of different species of seals and vast numbers of birds. It is very high land, rising to a majestic peak in the middle, having a somewhat low point making out from it to the southward ; also one still lower to the northeast or thereabouts. Its peak is rarely seen, owing to the clouds which hover over it and

obscure the summit. We had the peculiarly good fortune to observe it when perfectly clear and free from clouds, which lasted for but a few minutes before the clouds began to gather about it a few degrees below its summit. The only indications I was enabled to make of our approach to it were as follows: For two or three days before we made the island, a monstrous high and hollow sea from S.S.W. to S.W. attended us, and no birds, as usual, before. The day before we made the land there was an amazing number of silver birds about the ship, and when in sight of the island there was no end to their numbers.

“We found the situation of the island by our own observations to be in latitude $37^{\circ} 52'$ south, and longitude from a good lunar observation the morning we made the land, to be $78^{\circ} 9'$ east. Its longitude happens to be well determined as laid down in the common books and charts, but its latitude is grossly erroneous, which is laid down generally 22 miles too far to the northward.

“ March 11, 1798, arrived at the point of Ontonz, Java. Soon after passed Middleburgh Island, leaving it on the starboard hand, and the Mud Bank from the aforesaid point on the larboard hand. This channel is narrow but esteemed safe by the Dutch, they using it with their largest India ships.

“ After passing by Middleburgh Isle it is best, coming in, to edge away to the southward a little to avoid two small coral spots bearing from said isle W.S.W., having only 10 feet of water upon them, and $9\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms right alongside ; from $9\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms your ship will ground before your leadsman can haul up his lead. . . . The man in the chains called $9\frac{1}{2}$, and while hauling in the lead briskly the ship stopped a few seconds, or perhaps a minute, at which time we had about 12 feet of water, the bottom coral. I therefore pronounced this spot to be as upright as the side of a wharf, and of course not a little dangerous, as when it blows fresh with a swell. The charts have near this spot two small spots laid down, but without soundings or other description.

. . . Abreast of Middleburgh is generally a beacon upon the extreme part of the bank of mud. At this time it was cut down—as were all the buoys and beacons—for fear of the English, from whom the Dutch expected a visit.”

CHAPTER XVII

Captain George Nichols Sails on Another Voyage in the Ship *Active*—
Inadequacy of Charts as a Guide for Mariners—Slaughtering
Seals—Strange Findings in Huts on Desolate St. Paul's Island —
Hogs and Fowls Roaming at Will—Shooting Black Fish—Arrives
at the Port of Muscat—The Natives and the Government—On
the Lookout for Pirates.

THE incidents attending another voyage to the Far East by Captain George Nichols in the ship *Active* are interestingly described by him. The dangers he encountered in navigating his ship make evident the inadequacy of the charts at that time for giving the desired information to mariners. The following are quotations from the captain's log-book:

“I continued to have the wind from the south'd and east'd to the latitude 34° S., being then in longitude 32° W. After that had most of the time brisk breezes and pleasant weather to the island of Tristan de Cunha which I saw the 14th of February. . . .

March 8, 1802, I arrived in Table Bay from a tedious passage of eighty-five days from Salem. This place being so universally known, it is unnecessary to describe it. Having obtained my supplies, I sailed again on the 12th for the Cape of Good Hope. . . . On the twenty-first day after leaving Table Island I saw the island of St. Paul. As I have described this island in my voyage last year, shall not repeat it. I caught as many fish as I wanted from the western side of the island about one-half mile from the shore, which were the same kind I caught last year. Afterwards, in sailing by the island, I discovered several tents or houses on the northeast part. Being then abreast the landing place, I took my second mate and three seamen in the boat and went on shore. I went in abreast of the tents and found as safe a landing as at any wharf in Salem, in a small bay, sheltered by the rocks without from the sea. I immediately set my people to kill and skin the seals, which we did not find so plenty as they were at the time I was here with Captain

Swett in 1796. Still I imagine several hundred might be killed in a day. They would weigh from one hundred to two hundred pounds and were fierce when attacked. At first my people were afraid to go near them, but as the animals are very inactive when on the land, there is not the least risk of them, a small blow on the head being sufficient to stun them.

“I sent my mate to the tents,¹ which were about one hundred yards from the shore, and he informed me that there were four of them thirty to fifty feet in length, framed with small timbers, and thatched with coarse grass, with which the island is covered. In one of these houses was a quantity of stores, viz., tierce of rice, a cask of molasses, and sundry other articles, together with many cooking and carpenter’s utensils, ten or twelve hogs, and a great number of fowls, all in good condition.

¹ Captain Nichols further observes that in one of the tents was a letter mentioning that the buildings were erected by persons employed by Mr. Perkins of Boston in a sealing voyage, and that the articles before mentioned were left by the ship *Thomas Russell* of Boston, having had bad weather at the time they left the island, and were unable to take them off.

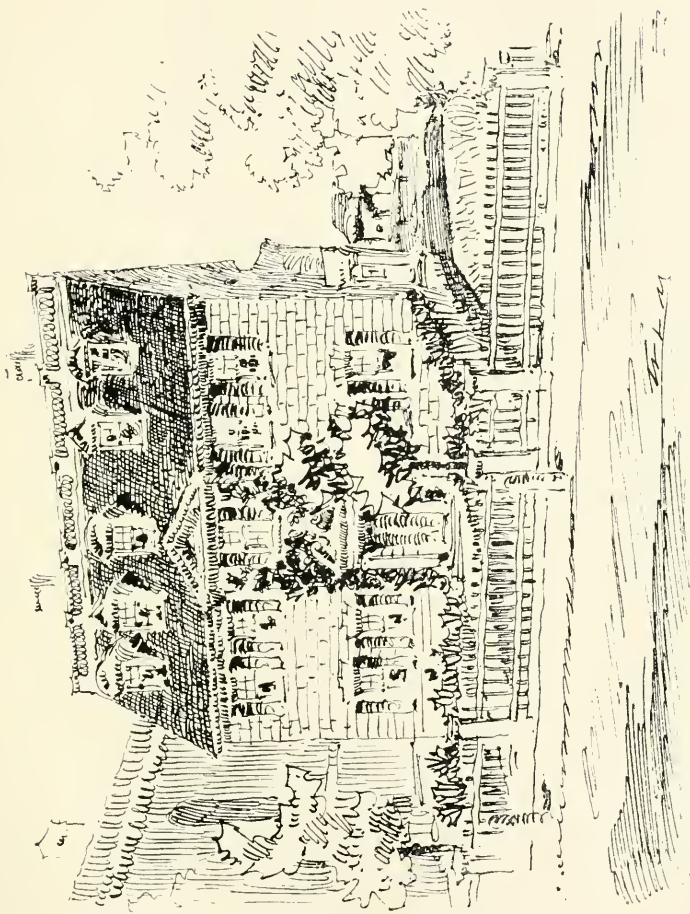
“Should the hogs and fowls remain unmolested two or three years,” continues the captain, “there is but little doubt of their stocking the island sufficient to supply the wants of future navigators. Having an ample supply of every necessary, I did not suffer the least article to be taken away. After remaining on shore about half an hour, we skinned twelve seals and took them into the boat with seven unskinned, and went on board, and immediately made sail and steered to the northward. After leaving the island, had a very unusual spell of calm, flattering weather, together with head winds, until I met the south trade winds, which was in latitude 30° south, being then in longitude $87^{\circ} 30'$ east of London. Previous to meeting the trade winds on the 13th of April, had a great number of black-fish round the ship. With a musket I shot five of them, with five balls at the same number of fires, one of which died in a few minutes. Lowered the boat and towed the fish alongside, but was obliged to cut it in two in order to hoist it on board, which

I judged would weigh about thirteen or fourteen hundred pounds, its length being nearly thirteen feet, and, excepting its head, which was not peaked, it very much resembled a porpoise.

“For some time I had the usual trade wind, and passed the equator on 95° east; had most of the time calm, flattering weather, and a strong, southerly current, setting sometimes to the S.S.W. and south, and at other times to the S.S.E. and S.E., from 12 to 30 miles in 24 hours. By lunar observation it set us about two degrees to the eastward in 10 days. From the equator I steered for Hog Island, which I saw on the 4th of May. This island is between 15 and 16 leagues in length, of moderate height, and it is very broken, sandy, and covered with trees. In coasting along the western side there appeared to be a great number of breakers, some of which lay a considerable distance, particularly from the western extreme, where, by my chart, there is a shoal lying eight or nine miles off, but they did not appear to me to lay more than four or

five miles from the shore. I had a very clear view of the coast, and kept off shore $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ leagues. I passed between Hog Island and another island which were very erroneously laid down in my charts, which places them N.E. distance six or seven leagues from the north extreme of Hog Island, instead of which they lay nearly west from the said extreme; the distance I judged to be about six leagues.

“My port of destination, Muscat, not being described in any of my books, and its latitude, given by several persons, not corresponding nearer than 12 miles, embarrassed me very much, and I was obliged to proceed with great caution. The charts which I have are English, and the latest extant, still the coast about Muscat is very badly laid down, and the winds and weather are not better described in the East India Directory. After several days of anxiety and fatigue, came to anchor at Muscat. During the time of my being here, which was from May 14 to June 6, I had regular land and sea breezes, and most of the time pleasant weather.



Col. Benjamin Pickman's house, erected in 1750, now standing in rear of the
Peabody Academy of Science.

Col Pickman was a successful merchant, and was largely engaged in shipping dried fish to foreign countries. Representations of the codfish were painted on the front stairs of his house.

“Respecting the natives here, I always found them to be very friendly, but it is dangerous to irritate them and to permit many of them to be on board your vessel at a time. They always have their knives with them, and there have been instances of their taking vessels, and I imagine they are always willing to take advantage of a good opportunity to do a like act. They are naturally a very lazy, indolent people, dirty in their persons, and have scarcely any uniformity in dress. On their heads they wear a handkerchief done up a little like a turban, and about their loins are several yards of cloth, which reaches a little below their knees, which is their only dress.

“Respecting their government or laws I know but little. There are two ‘datos’ or chiefs, who appear to be the only ruling men among them, and, apparently, all business is regulated by them. From these persons you purchase your cargo. I sailed from this place, bound for Manila. . . . The channel from Malacca and the Straits of Singapore is narrow, and a little wind, with

a southerly current, will set a ship over towards the Sumatra coast, which is full of shoals; besides, it appears to be badly explored. Through these straits I consider it to be the most expeditious route a ship can go to the China Sea from any port in India to the northward of the equator, provided it is not earlier than the month of May; but in April I would prefer going through the Straits of Sunda. Working down the coast of Sumatra the navigation is doubtless much clearer, and small vessels are not so much exposed to the attacks of the natives. In these latter straits they have large prows and many of them are well armed. There are frequent instances of vessels having been taken.

“I saw several of these pirates in the Straits of Singapore, and I should not have been safe from their attacks had I not been in company with a large ship. I saw in steering N.N.E. Poolo Sapata bearing N.E., distance six or seven leagues. Had a light breeze from the south’d and a strong current setting to the N.E., which, notwithstanding

every exertion, drew me down very fast toward the island. Being within one mile of it, and seeing no alternative, hove to and let the ship down with the current, keeping a good lookout, and standing ready to let go anchor. Sounded often, but had no ground at the distance of half a mile off the island.

“Fortunately the current was setting directly through between the island and the dangerous shoals lying to the south’d and east’d of it. My anxiety was much greater on account of its being dark. At sunset I was within two or three miles of the island; at the same time saw the shoals above mentioned; distance from me about one mile. I am convinced that I saw the rocks above water. There appeared to be a clear channel of near two miles between the shoal and the island, and, should I ever fall in with this island again, in a like situation, I would proceed directly through this channel, keeping within one mile of the island. The night being very dark I lay by several hours, although I was some distance from land by

my chart and directions. At daylight the weather was still thick, and it was raining and blowing.

“At 9 A.M., saw the land. At first I supposed it to be Goat Island. Shortly saw the land bearing from E.N.E. to N.N.E., distance four or five leagues, which convinced me that the first which I saw was Mindoro—the north part—and the latter Luban. At 9 o'clock the next morning I passed between the Haycock and the Conrigadora. July 12, 1802, came to anchor in Cavité harbor, in three fathoms of water. As the situation of Manila, and likewise every useful information respecting it, must be better known by several persons in the Salem Marine Society than would be in my power to communicate, I shall make but few remarks on the place. Its commerce during the late war in Europe has been extensive with foreigners, but the peace has much changed it. The passage to this place is well described in the India Directory, excepting in the distance from Poolo Sapata to Goat Island; the difference of longitude is described as

being $11^{\circ} 30'$. Between these islands it is mentioned that there is not any current after the monsoons set in, which advice I intended to adhere to in my passage to this place, by the means of which I was near losing my ship, as before observed. It is surprising to me that the Directory should be so erroneous in observing that throughout the China Sea there is but little or no current. I am certain that I never had less than from 20 to 30 miles current in 24 hours, during the time of being in that sea.

“Having completed my business, I sailed from the place the 12th of November. March 20, 1803, arrived at Falmouth, England.”

CHAPTER XVIII

Dr. Nathaniel Bowditch—His Early Life in Salem—Difficulties in Acquiring Knowledge—Test of Young Bowditch's Mathematical Ability—His Voyages as Supercargo—Correcting Errors in Standard Nautical Works—Voyage to Lisbon in 1796.

AMONG the many eminent men Salem has produced, the name of Nathaniel Bowditch stands out in bold relief. He was born March 26, 1773, and died in Boston, March 16, 1838. In his will is the following "item":

"Whereas some of my relatives have heretofore been members of that excellent institution, the Marine Society at Salem, some of whom have received the benefit of its charity fund, under circumstances entitling it to my grateful remembrance, I do now give to that institution the sum of one thousand dollars, the income thereof to be forever applied in aid of its charitable objects and purposes."

A letter from his executors (two of his sons), enclosing a copy of Dr. Bowditch's will, in alluding to the bequest of their father, has the following pleasant reference:

"He told us and all our children, at the time of executing it [the will] that his father, Habakkuk Bowditch, for nearly 20 years received from your charity fund the annual sum of \$15 or thereabouts, so that his own food and clothing when a boy were in part derived from this source. Under these circumstances we felt, with him, that he had incurred a debt of gratitude toward your society which justified and indeed required from him an affectionate acknowledgment in return. And the legacy in question was given with the full consent and approbation of all his family."

Dr. Bowditch bequeathed a like amount to the Salem East India Marine Society, of which he had been president, and in which he always felt the deepest interest, and also to the Salem Athenæum, whose advantages in youth he considered of inestimable value. "The above-named legacies," he

adds, " will, I trust, prove the regard which I have always felt towards my native town, in which I passed so pleasantly the first 50 years of my life."

The following, from the resolutions of the Marine Society on the death of Dr. Bowditch, shows the respect in which he was held by the members of that society :

" Resolved, That in the death of Nathaniel Bowditch a public, a national, a humane benefactor has departed ; that not this community, nor one nation only, but the whole world, has reason to do honor to his memory ; that when the voice of eulogy shall be still, when the tear of sorrow shall cease to flow, no monument will be needed to keep alive his memory among men, but as long as ships shall sail, the needle point to the north, and the stars go through their wonted course in the heavens, the name of Dr. Bowditch will be revered as one who helped his fellow men in time of need, who was and is to them a guide over the pathless ocean, and of one who forwarded the great interest of mankind."

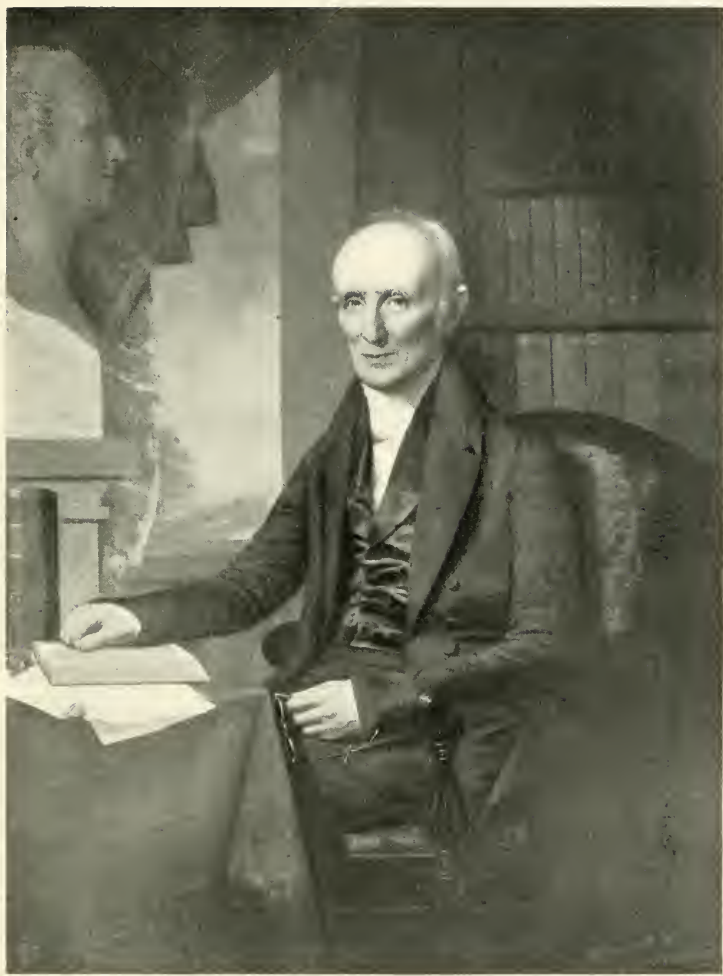
The writer has had access to the records and log-books of the Salem Marine Society, now deposited in the Essex Institute, and from them he has gleaned much valuable material. Recently, while engaged in his research, he came upon one of the veritable sea journals kept by Dr. Bowditch, which is written in a delicate, even hand, and contains much which is of value to the public.

Dr. Bowditch sailed as supercargo on several voyages from Salem ; in 1796 in the ship *Astrea*, Captain Prince, to Lisbon, Madeira, Manila, and other places. As he was a member of the Marine Society, he was compelled to comply with an article of its by-laws, which was that every member should furnish, for the society, a journal of his respective voyages. Extracts from this journal, kept by this famous navigator, will be read with interest.

That Nathaniel Bowditch was eminently a self-made man, no one can truthfully deny. He was led to take an interest in the higher branches of mathematical science, in 1787,

when he was but fourteen years of age. This desire to gain knowledge was brought about through the agency of an older brother who had been to sea on a voyage or two, and who, feeling the need of a better education and of a knowledge of navigation, as he intended to follow the sea, attended an evening school while at home from one of his voyages. On returning home one evening, he informed Nathaniel that the master had got a new way of doing sums and working questions, for instead of the figures commonly used in arithmetic, he employed letters of the alphabet.

This novelty excited the lad's curiosity, and as mathematical books of all kinds were then scarce in the country, he managed to borrow the book of the master. That night he did not close his eyes, the book being all in all to him. He copied its contents from beginning to end, and soon mastered every problem it contained. Subsequently he got hold of a volume of the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* of London, the greater part of which



Dr. Nathaniel Bowditch (1773-1838).

World-renowned navigator and author of scientific works. From copy by Miss A. W. Woodbury. After Charles Osgood. Essex Institute.



he also copied. He was too poor at the time to purchase books, and copying was the only mode of getting at their results.

When young Bowditch was at Madeira in 1796, as supercargo of a ship, he and the captain were invited to the house of Mr. Pintard, the American Consul. Mrs. Pintard had heard from an American shipmaster that the young supercargo was a great calculator, and she felt a curiosity to test his capabilities. Accordingly, she said to him at the dinner-table : “ Mr. Bowditch, I have a question which I should like to have you answer.”

He replied by saying that he would do his best to comply with the wishes of his hostess. Continuing, she said : “ Some years ago,” naming the time, “ I received a legacy in Ireland. The money was there invested, and remained some time on interest. The amount was subsequently remitted to England, where, also, the interest was allowed to accumulate, and lately the whole amount has been remitted to me here. What sum ought I to receive ? ” She,

of course, named the precise dates of the several remittances, the original sums, etc.

Mr. Bowditch laid down his knife and fork, and said that the problem was a little difficult on account of the difference of currency and the number of the remittances, but moving his hands as though counting his fingers or some imaginary objects, he replied, after a pause of about two minutes :

“The sum you should receive is £843 15s. 6½*d.*”

“Well, Mr. Clerk,” said Mrs. Pintard to the clerk of the house, who was an elderly man, and was esteemed a very skillful accountant, “you have been figuring it out for me on paper ; has he got it right ?”

“Yes,” was the reply of the clerk, “he has got it exactly right !”

Mr. Bowditch, just before leaving Salem, on his fourth voyage in 1799, was called on by Edward M. Blunt, then a noted publisher of charts and nautical books at Newburyport, and was asked by him to continue the corrections which he had commenced on J. Hamilton Moore’s book on navigation,

then extensively used. This he agreed to do, and while in performance of his promise he detected such a multitude of errors that it led to the construction and publication of *The New American Practical Navigator*, the first edition of which was issued in the year 1807.

His extraordinary mathematical attainments attracted the attention of navigators and men of science in every civilized country in the world. Dr. Bowditch's fame as a scientist rests on his translation and commentary of the great work of the French astronomer, La Place, entitled *La Mécanique Celeste*. When he had completed his corrections and additions to this book, half of it could well have been claimed as his own original matter. His long India voyages afforded him time to gratify his desire for nautical study, as well as for indulging his taste for general literature. His heart was big and generous, and he was ever ready to impart knowledge to others; and he frequently was seen instructing the common sailor in mathematical science.

The following extracts are from the original journal kept by Mr. Bowditch on a voyage to Lisbon in 1796.

“We sailed through the northern channel and came to anchor off Belen Castle. After coming to anchor, Captain Prince went to the castle to report the ship, but was not suffered to land before the health officers had visited. The same evening we had permission from them to land the next morning, when we were entered at the custom-house by the vice-consul. . . . All your powder (if you have any on board) is taken out at an expense of \$6 or \$8, so that it is better to throw it overboard than report it, if you have only a small quantity, not only on account of the expense, but the detention, as you are not permitted to make an entry at Lisbon before a certificate is returned of your powder being in the custody of the keeper of the Castle Belen. . . . The number of excise officers, etc., make the port charges considerable. The ‘light money’ is 25 cents per ton on vessels not taking powder, and $6\frac{1}{4}$ cents on those that

load with wines and other Portuguese products.

“The streets of Lisbon are very dirty, all their filth being emptied into them, and the passenger must take care not to have a tub of suds, or something worse, thrown upon him. About 120 days are set apart for the worship of their saints. On these days and on Sundays the custom-house is not opened, and of course not much business is done. The streets are always infested with beggars of various denominations; some lazy, dronish friars, others real objects of charity. Their importunate manner of demanding alms is really a very great nuisance.

“The tide runs very strongly in the river Tagus. On May 5, 1796, I observed the time of low water, 7h. 15m. A.M., the moon being in the meridian at 10h. 27m. A.M.; daily difference of coming to the meridian, 42m.; whence, by allowing the time of high water to be 6h. 12m. later than the time of low water, the time of high water was 1h. 27m. P.M., which is 3h. 1m. past the time of the moon’s southing. But, as the river

Tagus runs with considerable rapidity, it is possible that the ebb continues longer than the flood, and of consequence this time ought to be decreased a little; perhaps it would not err much from the truth to say that on the full and change days it is high water at 2h. 30m. P.M."

CHAPTER XIX

More about the Life of Dr. Bowditch—He Continues his Journal—Interesting Incidents in Connection with Obtaining a Cargo—Notes on Manila—Thieves Rob Captain Prince of \$1000—Pursued, they Lose the Money Overboard from their Boat—Cargo Worth a Million Dollars.

DR. BOWDITCH'S journal contains much that is interesting, but we can give only a few further extracts from his notes relating to Manila and impressions he jots down from time to time.

DR. BOWDITCH'S NOTES

“Monday, Oct. 3, 1797. Being in Manila Bay, a boat came on board from John Stuart Kerr, who calls himself an American, saying he was born at Philadelphia. At 2 P.M. the government boat came aboard with two revenue officers. At 6 P.M. came to anchor at Cavité. . . . Next day went in the ship's boat to Manila. On our landing at

the custom-house we met Mr. Kerr, who accompanied us as interpreter to the house of the Governor. This visit must be made immediately after you come ashore. Mr. Kerr brought himself into a difficulty a year or two after by carrying an American to his own house before he had made a call on the governor.

“After waiting on the governor we went to Mr. Kerr’s house (who at present is the American Consul) and hired one end of it, which was very convenient for shipping goods, as the river ran at the back of it, where the boats could come and load with merchandise.

“Contracts were made with some Chinamen for sugars to be delivered in five or six weeks, as they could not take it from the ports, dry it, and put it in bales in less time. That which happened to be ready packed was purchased and sent aboard immediately. . . . Most of the bags must be examined by the sound, or else they will be apt to turn you off with dark and wet sugar. . . . They make but very little use of

molasses, as the government does not allow of any distilleries, nor will it suffer any spirit to be distilled from the cane, or any to be imported. Of course we were forced to call some New England rum, belonging to the mate, by the name of brandy, or *aqua vitæ*, and the natives were so ignorant of the quality that they absolutely took it in preference to the best Cognac brandy, which was offered at the same price.

“Manila is the only free port in the colony ; the duties, or imports and exports, are small. All goods imported are carried into the custom-house, and appraised, and a duty of 6 per cent. charged on them. Dollars are imported free of duty, but pay 3 per cent. on exporting. . . . The price of indigo when we arrived at Manila in 1796 was from 80 to 85 dollars per quintal, but as the English ships, etc., had nearly completed their loading, and being non-purchasing, we were able to procure it at a less price, or at about 75 or 76 dollars per quintal. Nearly all the indigo was purchased of the natives in parcels from three or four

pounds to several quintals. It was brought to the house in bags like those in which sugar is packed, then it was emptied in a large tub and inspected. Mr. Kerr assisted in inspecting most of the time, but in a short time we learned to inspect it ourselves. That which is light when broken, free from flaws, etc., of uniform clear color, is the best. If a few pieces were found of an inferior quality, we made them deduct several dollars from the price, but mixed it in with the rest. If a large quantity of it was found inferior, it was turned aside as second or third quality. They are very apt to wet their indigo just before offering it for sale, which will increase the weight as much as 10 or 12 per cent. To discover whether it is wet, it must be broken and the piece struck with the end of your nail. If it leaves a clear copper color without rising up at the side of the mark, as if soft, it is probably dry. If a wet piece be squeezed hard, it will appear cold and damp, even when the outside appears dry ; for when they wet it they take care that the

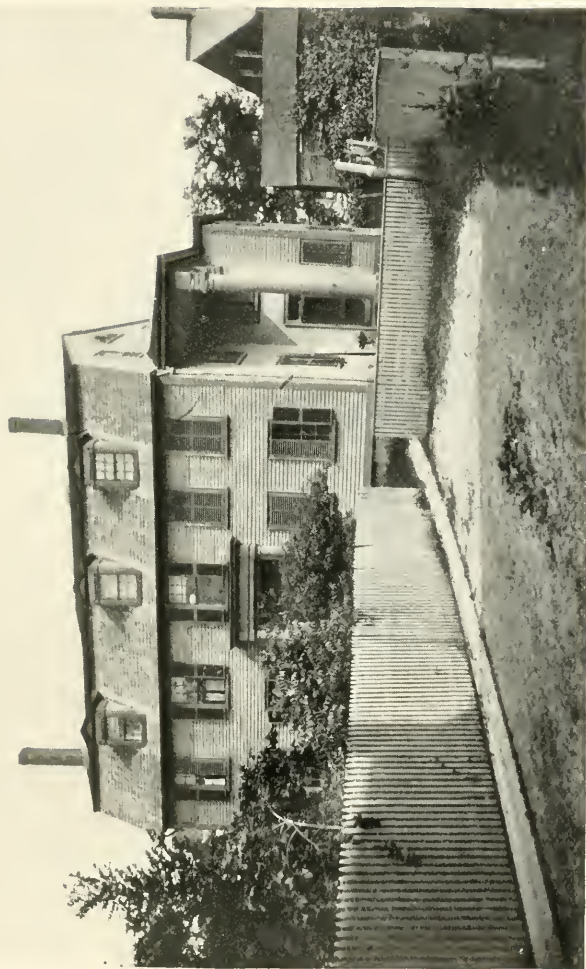
outside of the indigo shall appear quite dry.
. . . Fresh provisions are very cheap at Manila. Fresh beef two cents per pound, and white flour bread about the same as in America.

“The city of Manila is about three or four miles in circumference, is walled all around, and cannon are placed at proper intervals, but we were unable to get much information with respect to the state of the place, as they were shy of giving any information to foreigners. The buildings within the walls are all of stone, and none except the churches is more than two stories high, on account of the violent earthquakes which they have generally at the breaking up of the monsoons. The month of March is when they most expect them, but on the 5th of November, 1797, we experienced several violent shocks at about 2 P.M., which came from the northward and proceeded in a southerly direction, continuing with violence nearly two minutes. It threw down a large house half a league from the city, untiled several buildings, and did much

other damage. It was not observed on board the ship lying off the bar. The motion of the earthquake was quicker than those usual in America, as the latter are generally preceded by a rumbling noise ; the former was not.

“The suburbs of Manila are very extensive ; most of the business is done there. The houses of the wealthier class are of two stories, built of stone ; the poorer sort live in bamboo houses with thatched roofs. No house can be built in the suburbs without the particular permission of the governor, fearing if they were too high an enemy might make use of them for attacking the city, as was the case when the English took the place formerly, for one of the churches near the walls was very serviceable to them.

“All the women have a little of the Indian blood in their veins, except the lady of the governor and two or three others, though by a succession of intermarriages with Europeans they have obtained a fair complexion. The natives (like all other Malays) are excessively fond of gaming and



Birthplace of Nathaniel Bowditch, erected about 1750.

House is still in a good state of preservation.

cock-fighting. A theatre is established for the latter business, from which the government draws an immense revenue. The diversion being prohibited at any other place, sometimes there are 5000 or 6000 spectators, each of whom pays half a real. A large sum arises from the duties on tobacco and cocoa wine. Tobacco is prohibited, but if you smuggle any on shore it cannot be sold for more than the ruling cost in America, notwithstanding the price is very high here. Particular people, licensed by the king, are the only persons allowed to deal in it.

“All the natives chew ‘dreca’ and ‘betel,’ though not mixed with opium, as in Batavia. This, with chewing and smoking tobacco, makes their teeth very black. The segars used by the women, and which they smoke all day, are made as large as they can possibly get into their mouths. The natives are about as honest as their neighbors, the Chinese ; they stole several things from us, but by the goodness of the police we recovered most of them.

“On the 2d of December, 1797, thieves broke into the house where we lived, entered the chamber where Captain Prince and myself were asleep, and carried off a bag containing \$1000, without awakening either of us, or any of the crew of the long-boat, sleeping in an adjoining chamber. The guard boat discovered them as they were escaping, and pursued them. They, in endeavoring to escape, ran afoul of a large boat, which, upsetting them, the money went to the bottom, and, what was worse, the bag burst and the money was all scattered in the mud, where the water was eight feet deep. However, by the honesty of the captain of the guard, most of it was recovered. The thieves were caught, and, when we were there in 1800, Mr. Kerr informed us that they had been whipped, and were to be kept in servitude several years.

“The same day another robbery was committed, equally as daring. The day the indigo was shipped, the second mate came ashore with several of the people to see it safe aboard. The boats we had pro-

vided, not taking all of it, we sent the remainder aboard with a black fellow as a guard, who was esteemed by Mr. Kerr as an honest man, but he had been contriving, it seems, to steal a couple of boxes. When the cases containing the indigo had passed the bar, a small boat came aboard with two boxes filled with chips, stones, etc., appearing in every respect like those full of indigo, and, pretending that we had put on board two wrong boxes, they exchanged their boxes for two real boxes of indigo, but, in bringing them ashore, they were detected and the indigo returned.

“There are great numbers of Chinese at Manila. It is from them most of the indigo is purchased. They trade considerably with China; their junks arrive at Manila in January, and all their goods are deposited in the custom-house. Some of these cargoes are valued at a million of dollars, the duties on which amounted to nearly \$100,000. The Chinese at Manila retain all the customs of their country, excepting those respecting religion and a few other things of small

moment. They make use of the Chinese characters in writing, beginning at the right hand of the paper and writing downwards. Their manner of marking down any number is somewhat similar to the common method used by Americans."

CHAPTER XX

Voyage of Captain John White to the China Sea—Fight with Pirates near the Straits of Banka—At Canjeo—Native Chiefs Visit the Captain.

THE trials and dangers encountered by the Master Mariners in pioneering the way to new ports of trade, and their power to adapt themselves readily to the varying condition of things, have been related by many a story-teller. No experience, however, better illustrates this fact than the voyage made to the China Sea by Captain John White, in the brig *Franklin*, in 1819-20, for the purpose of finding a market for his cargo, and of purchasing another for home shipment. This was at a time when no American vessel, at least no one of which we have any record, had ever been at Canjeo, or had attempted to ascend the Donnai River.

Not alone were the ladrones, with whom the China Sea was infested, to be dreaded, but the duly constituted authorities on shore were often not a whit behind these freebooters in their determination to rob, plunder, and pillage, when it could be done through deception or a misinterpretation of local maritime law. They had little conception of the rights and privileges due to other nations; but not all their inhuman acts were chargeable to ignorance, for they had such an inherent propensity for robbery and crime that this could be said of the best of them:

“Their imperial fancy laid all nature under tribute.”

The voyage of Captain White was an eventful one in Salem's commercial history. It opened the way for trade with ports whose products were unknown, to any considerable extent, even in Europe, and gave courage to the shipowners in their efforts to extend their business operations in foreign countries. Captain White's journal of his voyage is replete with thrilling incidents from beginning to end.

CAPTAIN WHITE'S NARRATIVE

“On Saturday, the 2d of January, 1819, we sailed from Salem, and the next day had a severe gale, with snow, from the north-east. On the 4th of February crossed the equator. On the 9th, in the afternoon, being in latitude $5^{\circ} 50'$ south, and longitude $29^{\circ} 20'$ west, two sail of vessels were descried ahead, standing in the same direction with ourselves. We took little further notice of this incident (as at this time of general peace the whole navigation of the world was in motion) than to observe that we were approaching them rapidly, which excited a consequent emotion of exultation at the superiority of our sailing. At sunset we had approached so near as to see their hulls, which indicated a prospect of soon passing them. At 11 o'clock the two vessels, which had been obscured from our view by the darkness of the evening, were now perceived to be quite near. We saw that they were large ships, and that our course would lead us between them, and quite near the windward one, on our approach to which, and

just as we were about to hail her, her crew poured, or intended to pour, into us the contents of their two stern-chase guns. We were much surprised at this, and hailed them, demanding the reason for firing at us, but so great was the confusion of voices on the stranger we could not be heard.

“We were rapidly passing them, and, as we ranged along, were successively saluted with five more guns, charged with grape, as we found by the shot which came on board, without, however, doing the least damage. We found by their language that they were Portuguese, and concluded that they mistook us for a Patriot privateer, and, by the small report of their guns and imbecility of the fire, it was apparent that they must have been a long time charged, or their powder bad,—perhaps both. As we had not deviated from our course during the rencounter, had reduced no sail, and sailed much faster than our uncivil neighbor, we were soon out of his reach, and little further notice was taken of the affair by us than occasionally regretting that our own guns had not been

mounted at the time, which we conceived would have effectually prevented him from having all the exercise on his side. As we were at peace with all the world, it had not been considered necessary to take the guns on deck till we approached the Straits of Sunda, and they were at this moment reclining on the ballast below.

“On the 12th of March we saw and passed the island of Tristan d’Acunha. This island was taken formal possession of in 1814, by Jonathan Lambert, of Salem. He issued a proclamation setting forth his rights to the soil, and invited navigators of all nations, whose route might lie near the island, to touch at his settlement for supplies needed on a long passage, and which he anticipated his industry would draw from the earth and the adjacent sea, and he signified his readiness to receive in payment for his products, which consisted of vegetables, fruits, and fish, whatever might be most convenient for his visitors to part with, that could in any way be useful to him and his associates in their solitary abode.

“For the purpose of being able to fully carry out his plans, Mr. Lambert took with him to the island various implements of husbandry, seeds of the most useful culinary plants which grew in the United States, tropical trees for transplanting, scions, etc. After Lambert had been on the island about two years, it was apparent that his efforts would be crowned with success, but, unfortunately, he was drowned soon after, while on a visit to one of the adjacent islands. Disheartened by this unfortunate occurrence, Lambert’s associates, shortly after his death, left the islands in a ship which touched there.

“We had the usual winds and weather experienced in passing the Cape of Good Hope, and in running up our ‘eastings,’ which we did in latitude of about 40 degrees south. April 14th, we passed the islands of St. Paul and Amsterdam, without seeing them, however, the weather being hazy, and on May 4th, in the morning, we saw Java Head, at noon entered the Straits of Sunda, and on the 9th anchored in Batavia roads.



Captain Thos. Fuller, ninety-one years of age.

Captured by pirates in the brig *Mexican*, 1832.

“At 11 A.M. on the 24th, we discovered three large prows standing for us full of men, and each had two banks of oars, with a barricade built across their forecastles, in the center of which was a perforation, or embrasure, through which projected the muzzle of a large cannon. One of these vessels was larger than the others, and acted as commodore. We counted on one side of the boat 37 oars, and, presuming both sides equal, she was propelled by 74 oars. Their formidable and hostile appearance designated them to us as a squadron of those piratical prows which infest all these straits between the Indian and Pacific oceans and the China Sea, who are always on the watch for small or defenseless vessels, and who, emboldened by some late successes, have ventured to attack even men-of-war, and so serious have been their depredations upon the commerce of the East of late years, and so shocking to humanity their savage cruelty to their prisoners, that merchant vessels seldom navigate singly those seas.

“As the evident intention of these prows was to attack us, preparations were being made to repel them. They approached with a great appearance of resolution till nearly within range of our guns, when they began to slacken and keep aloof, probably for the purpose of reconnoitering. With a view of ascertaining their distance from us, we gave them a shot from a six-pounder, which fell somewhat short.

“Immediately, as if electrified by the salute, every oar was set briskly to work, and they made directly for us, with every appearance of determined courage, tossing up the water with their oars, which moved without the least regularity, and assumed the appearance of the legs of a centipede in rapid motion. They were permitted to approach within fair reach of our guns, when a broadside was given them of three six-pounders. The shot of one passed over them, that of another dropped just under the quarter of the largest prow, and the third, striking the water a few yards short of her, bounded over her barricade and was lost to our view.

Great confusion was caused on board the squadron by this specimen of our gunnery, and the two smaller vessels pulled alongside the commodore, where they lay for some time.

“Our course, to avoid a shoal, led us three miles to the southward of the enemy. On our approach nearer to the pirates we prepared to give them another broadside with grape and double round, but they thought proper to retire as we passed. Being unwilling to have charged our guns to no purpose, we could not resist the impulse, which their piratical conduct had produced, and with a view to put our security beyond all question, to give them one more broadside, the shot striking around them like hail.

“The trucks of our gun carriages had been made of a species of wood which grows in the island of Sumatra, and was chosen for that purpose on account of its great hardness, but another essential quality, that of being tough and not liable to split, was overlooked, for which omission we were on this occasion considerable suf-

ferers; one of our guns had already become useless, in consequence of the brittle qualities of the trucks, and two of the others were much injured, and our pleasure was by no means enhanced on perceiving our enemies make all sail in pursuit, who kept up a constant fire upon us, which was returned until our guns were all dismounted and lay upon deck. Their shot, however, did us no kind of injury, being spent short of us. Being now deprived of our artillery, and, in case of a calm, having no means of defense but our small-arms, we determined to steer for Mintow, a Dutch settlement in the island of Banka, then in sight, where we arrived in the evening, still followed by our troublesome pursuers to within a short distance of the anchorage. On the following morning we went on shore, and related to the authorities the action which we had the preceding day. The Resident said he recognized in the prows we described pirates from the island of Fingin, a few leagues to the northward, who had, a few days previous, cut out a vessel on the roads one night di-

rectly under the guns of the fort, from which they had taken a considerable quantity of opium, with which they constantly kept themselves in a state of inebriety.

“He assured us that the guns we had seen on board the prows were brass 18-pounders, that their crews were all armed with pikes or spears, and javelins and muskets. He pointed out on the beach a small trading brig, which had been captured off the Nauka Islands, in Banka Straits, by these very boats, and had been retaken a few days before by two Dutch gunboats, which had also captured one of their prows (now lying on the beach near the Chinese brig), the crew of which had fought with great desperation, nor did they yield till every man of them had been desperately wounded, and even then, while lying on deck and incapable of standing, thrusting with their spears and darting their javelins at their victors, by which some of the Dutch sailors were killed and many others badly wounded, some of whom had died from the malignity of the poison with which the weapons of the

pirates had been imbued. Only eight men of the crew of the *prow*, which numbered 100, survived the battle.

“Added to the natural ferocity of the temper of the pirates was a free use of opium, combined with the juice of a root called ‘bang.’ These stimulants, when associated with their Mahometan persuasion of the doctrine of predestination, render them totally exempt from fear, produce the most ungovernable rage and desperation, and stimulate them to deeds of the most savage and diabolical barbarity. . . . After making needful repairs and remounting the guns with new trucks, the *Franklin* proceeded to sea in company with an English brig bound for Singapore.

“On the 7th of June we descried Cape St. James, and, on the following morning, having come to anchor opposite the village of Vung Han, our boat was despatched to the village. On the boat’s landing, a trumpet was sounded in the grove, and we could see a considerable bustle among the inhabitants. On the officer’s landing he was im-

mediately surrounded and escorted to the house of the chief, who was a military mandarin commanding in that station. The officer tried to make himself understood that we were in want of a pilot to conduct us up to the city of Saigon, but was unsuccessful at first. Soon after the boat's return we were informed by the officer on deck that a large boat full of men was approaching round the west point of the bay. We at once repaired on deck and saw that the stranger had his masts and yards decorated with pendants and a formidable display of spears ornamented with tufts of hair attached to the staves. It was consequently thought proper, for the double purpose of safety and ceremony, to have the crew drawn up on the quarter and main decks with muskets, pikes, etc., ready for their reception. When scarcely within hail they began to vociferate very loudly, repeating the word *solan*, and approaching with much caution; encouraged, however, by our amiable deportment and conciliatory gestures, they ventured to come alongside. The chiefs, of whom there were

three, at our solicitations came on deck. We were obliged to have recourse to our telegraphic dictionary of signs in order to communicate with the chiefs. We learned that the oldest chief was commander of the military district which embraced all the country, including the several outlets of the Donnai-noir; that he resided at Canjeo, a village about seven miles to the westward, and situated on the island of Dong Theang, which is the first land on the south side of the entrance, and that we must there wait for permission of the viceroy or governor to approach the city. Having ascertained that the subordinate chiefs were acquainted with the navigation of the river, we weighed anchor and proceeded up to Canjeo, where we arrived and moored at 2 P.M. on the same day.

“On this first interview with the natives of the country we were much surprised to find their manners so different from what we had been led to expect from the accounts we had had of them. We were now convinced that the Cochin Chinese were in

many respects but little removed from a state of deplorable barbarism. The military chief was a withered, gray-headed old man, possessing, however, a great deal of vivacity. . . . He had several attendants, who were perfectly subservient, and promptly obedient to all his orders. One of the attendants carried a huge umbrella, with which he followed the old man to all parts of the ship, and, when invited into the cabin, he would not descend without the umbrella, so tenacious was he of every circumstance of state and appearance.

“ Another attendant was a handsome boy of about 15 years of age, who carried, in two blue silk bags, the areka nut, betel leaf, chunan, and tobacco, of which they chew immense quantities. Another servant carried a fan. Our risibility was not a little excited on seeing the old fellow strutting about the deck, prying into the cook’s coppers, embracing the sailors on the forecastle, dancing, grinning, and playing many other antic tricks, followed by the whole train of fanners, umbrella-bearers, and chunan boys.

The dress of the chiefs consisted of a very short and coarse cotton shirt, which had been originally white; trousers of black crape, very wide, without waistband, and secured round the waist by a sash of crimson silk; a tunic of black or blue silk, a turban of black crape, and coarse wooden sandals.

“After visiting every part of the ship, the old mandarin began to court my favor with the most unyielding pertinacity, hugging me round the neck, attempting to thrust his betel-nut into my mouth from his own, and leaping upon me like a dog, from which I was nearly suffocated. I finally succeeded in extricating myself from the ardor of his caresses, and getting to the windward side of him, which I maintained, notwithstanding his reiterated efforts to dislodge me. At first we could not account for his sudden and violent fit of unsolicited friendship, but in a short time the mystery was completely unravelled.

“One of the inferior chiefs intimated a wish to descend to the cabin, which was

granted. No sooner had we entered it than, pointing to the looking-glass, he gave us to understand that he must have that for the old chief. Being somewhat surprised at the demand, we smiled, and, endeavoring to divert his attention, presented him a bottle of brandy and a glass to help himself, which he did not hesitate to do most abundantly, and then, giving us to understand that he considered the vessels as a present, passed them to his attendants, who, after swallowing the liquor, deposited them under their robes. The mandarin then renewed his solicitations, nor was there a single article in sight that he did not demand, and in a manner to impress us with the idea that a refusal would give great umbrage to the chief on deck."

CHAPTER XXI

Captain of the *Franklin* in a Sea of Trouble—Chiefs Demand Presents
—Captain Attends Reception by the Officials—He is Tendered a
Banquet—Difficulty in Getting Permission to Ascend the Donnai
River.

CAPTAIN WHITE'S Journal continues :
“We were forced to purchase peace and good-will at the expense of a pair of pistols to the old chief, 25 cartridges, 12 flints, one six-pound canister of powder, two pair of shoes, a shirt, six bottles of wine, three of rum, and three of French cordial, a cut-glass tumbler, and a Dutch cheese. Nor were the attendants neglected in the general amnesty, and each of them received some trifling article of clothing as a propitiatory offering.

“Old Heo, the mandarin, was now in high spirits again, and, in the wantonness of his benevolence, took off his old blue silk

robe, with which he very graciously invested me, at the same time shrugging and intimating that he was cold. I took the hint, and sent for a white jacket, which I assisted him in putting on. At this attention he appeared highly gratified. A demand was now made for some refreshments, and we spread before them some biscuit, cold beef, ham, brandy, fruit, and cheese. Of the biscuit and cheese they ate voraciously, seasoning their repast with bumpers of raw spirits.

“It was now proposed by the chiefs that our guns should be drawn, and that the commander should accompany them on shore. We refused to comply with their first proposition. I, however, prepared to accompany them to the village, taking with me Mr. Bessel, a young gentleman who acted in the capacity of clerk. On our approach to the shore, our olfactory nerves were saluted with the rankest compound of villainous smells that ever offended nostril; and the natives of the place, consisting principally of men, women, children, swine,

and mangy dogs, lined the muddy banks of the Stygian stream to welcome our landing. We passed immediately to the house of the chief.

“This house stood at a little distance from the compact part of the village, and was somewhat larger and in better style than the huts we had passed in approaching it. Here I feel myself incompetent to do justice in portraying the scene which ensued; my descriptive powers are totally inadequate; nothing but the pencil of a Hogarth or a Teniers could convey an adequate idea of the original. So irresistibly ludicrous was the scene that it was with the utmost difficulty we could keep our risible muscles in subjection. The apartment into which we were ushered was about 25 feet square, and this we found was the usual hall of audience. The floor was composed of a mixture of sand and clay, which by constant attrition had become very compact and solid. The walls were decorated with rusty swords, shields, match-locks, gongs, and spears.

“On each side of the entrance was an enormous brass drum, mounted on a clumsy wooden frame, and struck at stated periods with bamboo by a soldier on guard. On a raised platform were seated two miserable-looking objects undergoing the punishment of the *caungue*, or yoke. This punishment is inflicted by placing over the culprit's neck, and resting upon his shoulders, two pieces of bamboo about ten feet in length each, and secured parallel to each other by two strong wooden bars which pass on each side of the neck, embracing it very closely, and give the criminal the appearance of carrying a ladder on his shoulders. Directly back of this platform was an entrance into another apartment devoted to domestic purposes, before which hung a coarse screen of split bamboo, closely woven, which concealed from our view the women, children, and pigs behind it, who were amicably and jointly partaking of the contents of a huge wooden tray which was placed in the middle of the floor.

“On each side of a recess, in gaudy

colors, were displayed several paintings of prodigious monsters, 'chimeras dire,' and many other heterogeneous productions, and in the center stood a table on which were placed a censer of brass, a basin of the same material filled nearly to the top with ashes, in which were stuck a great number of matches, the ends of which had been burnt, and a little bronze joss or god. Seated upon a platform was a venerable-looking object, his arms akimbo and his legs crossed like a tailor's. We were led up directly in front of the throne and received by this august personage. He asked us to be seated, or rather motioned to two vacant chairs, and then addressed us in their language, but not a word of it could we understand, yet the voice sounded familiar to us, and on a nearer scrutiny we recognized our recent guest, but now most dignified host, old Heo. The grim and sable visages of the attendants, the grave and solemn deportment of the mandarin, the grotesque assemblage of monsters in the recess, and the discordant noises of the



The Jacob Crowninshield house, corner Herbert and Derby Streets. Built about 1740.

human and brute concert with which we were still regaled, transported us in idea to other regions. Such a scene must have been in the mind's eye of Milton when he wrote his animated and minute description of the Court of Pandemonium.

“A table was set before us, on which were placed a China tea equipage, a large dish of boiled rice, together with a piece of boiled fresh pork, very fat and oily. The old chief then began tearing the food in piecemeal with his long claws and thrusting it into our mouths, between every thrust holding a large bowl of tea to our lips with the most cruel perseverance, to the utter hazard of suffocating us, till finally, losing all patience at his tormenting hospitality, and finding prayers and utterances of no avail, I stepped back and clapped my hand on my dirk, darting at him at the same time a frown of displeasure. He desisted from any further importunity, and we were permitted to help ourselves in our own way.

“A bottle of rum and another of cordial,

a part of the pillage from our ship, were now produced, and a glass of the latter we were glad to take as an antidote to the effects of our meal. The old man now applied himself most vigorously to the liquors, and in a few moments had despatched the cordial, and then opened the bottle of rum. On our refusal to partake with him he applied it to his own lips, and we were struck with admiration to see

“How long, how deep, how zealously.
The precious juice he quaffed——”

not, however, untinctured with a degree of apprehension on our part of fatal effects from his debauch.

“Perceiving that the mandarin would shortly be unfit to transact business, I hastened to communicate my wishes of being supplied with a pilot, and immediately ascending the river, which he seemed to understand, and, shaking his head, drew his hand across his throat and then across mine, as if to intimate that we should both lose our heads if that request was complied with.

I said I would go up in my boat ; at this the signs were repeated. He, however, gave me to understand that he would transmit to Saigon an account of a strange vessel being in the river and demand permission for her to come up to the city, and that an answer would be returned in two days. Some orders were given to an officer, who at once retired, as I understood, for the purpose of despatching a messenger to Saigon. We left our host who was in a state of inebriety.

“We afterwards saw the chief civil magistrate and demanded permission to proceed up the river, but with the same ill success as before. Subsequently we saw the mandarin again, and he informed us that he would prepare the despatch to be sent to Saigon immediately, and minuted down the number of men on board the brig, armament, etc., with an assurance that in two days the messenger would return. We now expressed a wish to take leave, when we were informed by the mandarin that he intended to go on board with us, and had sent orders

to prepare a boat for that purpose. We immediately embarked, and in a short time arrived on board.

“We were now somewhat better prepared for the visit of the mandarin than at first, and had our movables placed out of sight ; but the steward, happened to open the door of a stateroom, where part of our arms were deposited, they quickly caught the eye of our visitor, who entered the room, and taking a musket from the stand, passed it to an attendant. In this design he was prevented and an inferior one offered him. He then became very surly and we were obliged to conciliate him at the expense of the best musket, a yard of red cloth, several bottles of sweet wine, shoes, ammunition, etc. And here it may be well to observe that on this and every other occasion of visits from these people, while we were in the country, their demands were made in a most systematic manner ; the inferior chiefs play the jackal for their superior, who reciprocate the favor in the same manner. We found them a set of sturdy beggars, never

expressing any gratitude for the presents which they received, or omitting any opportunity of taking every advantage of us, or stealing whatever lay in their way.

“Old Heo visited us on the following day, and invited us to go on shore to a feast, but as we were quite satisfied with our regale on the preceding day, it was thought best to decline. The next morning, June 11, a message came from the civil magistrate that we should shortly be favored with a visit, and accordingly, at about 11 o'clock, we saw him leave the creek, and in a few moments he was longside of us. A repetition of their shameless and insolent conduct was again displayed, and nothing but fear of acting contrary to our own interests prevented us from turning them out of the ship. We therefore concealed the resentment and contempt with which they had inspired us, and permitted them to drink deep of the Lethean draught which was to drown all their cares, and was the object of their fondest desires. We considered, also, that the sooner they were intoxicated the sooner we should be

rid of their importunity; nor were our hopes in this respect defeated, for in about half an hour they took to their boat and pulled off, leaving a small pig and some fruit, assuring us on their departure that we should receive our pass in two days !

“The following day Heo visited us again. He had a large number of his chiefs and people in the boat with him. As we did not feel altogether safe with so many coming on deck, we had all hands called to quarter, and preparations were made to act on the defensive. Heo looked around, and, seeing our warlike attitude, appeared to be somewhat embarrassed. He slipped his arm under mine and took several turns with me, measuring his steps with great exactness, to keep time with me. I again demanded the pass to proceed to Saigon, and informed him that we suspected that they were merely amusing us, that we would inform the great mandarin at Saigon how we had been treated, and that he would know how to punish them as they deserved. He appeared considerably surprised at this declaration,

but, as if the subject were a disagreeable one, he soon waived it in favor of a new demand upon us to go on shore to a great buffalo hunt, which was exemplified at the chief's instance, by one of the attendants, who, first pointing the forefinger of each hand up on each side of his head, and then, getting down on all fours, galloped round the deck, pursued by the whole train in full cry, to our no small amusement. Heo was now assailed by us with a new proposition. I demanded to embark immediately with him and his boat, and go up to the city, to which he replied, that if we would throw out the long-boat, and go on shore with the whole ship's company to the hunt, on the morrow he would grant us permission to go up the river. Struck with astonishment at this declaration, we demanded of him to inform us if our arrival had been made known at the city, on which he tacitly acknowledged that it had not, and assured us that the option of granting or refusing our demands was his, but he refused to assign any cause for keeping us so long in

ignorance of his power in this respect. They now left us, with the promise of an early visit on the following day.

“At about 10 o'clock our visitors made their appearance. Dissatisfaction and mutual dislike of each other were now evidently making rapid progress in our minds, and our excitement became shortly so great as to restore us in some measure to the use of our signs again. And they motioned that we should draw the charges from our guns. Our refusal to do it was given in a way to impress them with the belief that we expected soon to have use of them. Apparently undismayed at this intimation, they pointed down the hatchway, repeating the word ‘baak’ (meaning money or silver). Pretending not to notice them, we made one more effort to draw the attention of the chief to the subject of our pass, but we could get no answer but a shake of the head, and a motion alternately across our throats.

“Towards the close of the day we observed an unusual number of boats enter the creek, and a great bustle was noticed

on shore. In the evening, the confused noise of gongs, tom-toms, and voices had increased to a considerable degree. We could not imagine the cause of the din, unless it were to demonstrate their joy at the capture of a smuggler on the previous day. We weighed anchor and stood out towards the cape, and at daylight on the 13th we were clear of the land, and shaped our course to the northward. . . .

“An instance of the summary devastation of locusts occurred while I was at Manila. A Frenchman who, from various causes, had lost a large property, returned to the island, where he formed an extensive sugar plantation. The season was fine, the young plants had come forward, assumed every appearance of health and vigor, and clothed his grounds with the most lively verdure. These auspicious appearances excited in the bosom of the owner the most pleasing emotions, and gave birth to happy presages and the hope of being enabled to retrieve his fallen fortunes. In this felicitous frame of mind he was seated at the door of his cottage, with

his family around him, enjoying the beauties of a fine tropical evening, which was spent in mutual congratulations on the prospects of future independence. On the following morning the astonishment and agony of the unfortunate planter may be conceived on finding that not one vestige of vegetation was to be discovered upon his extensive grounds! Nothing was presented to his view but a bare and melancholy expanse of brown earth. The locusts had poured down in legions upon his defenseless lands, and robbed them of their valuable burthen.

“It was a subject of no little astonishment to me, on inquiring, to find how little was known in Manila respecting the neighboring kingdom of Cochin China, and I could account for it in no other way than from the anti-commercial character of both those countries when compared with most nations of India. . . . It will be recollected that we lay five days at Canjeo, in the Donnai River, in the early part of June, waiting unsuccessfully for permission to proceed to Saigon. It is somewhat remarkable that,

as ours was the first American vessel that had ever been at Canjeo, or attempted to ascend the Donnai River, another should have arrived there a few days after our sailing from thence, with the same views we had entertained. This was the ship *Marmion*, of Boston, commanded by Oliver Blanchard.

“It seems Captain Blanchard was equally unsuccessful with myself in his attempts to ascend the river and trade at Saigon. The authorities would not take doubloons in exchange for commercial commodities without great discount. These impediments to trade which the gold presented, determined Captain Blanchard to proceed to Manila for a cargo, but he was taken sick before he left the city, and died after the ship left Canjeo, but before she was out of the river. By this event the command devolved upon the chief officer, Mr. John Brown, who, in conjunction with the former clerk, Mr. Putnam, proceeded to put in execution the intentions of their late commander, and on the 22d of June the *Marmion* arrived at Cavité. In the course

of a conversation I had with these gentlemen a plan was suggested, canvassed, and finally determined on, to return in company to Donnai, after the *Marmion* should receive some necessary repairs, and time had been given to exchange the gold then on board for Spanish dollars. Our reasons in keeping company on this expedition were for mutual protection while penetrating into the heart of a country so little known, up a river with the navigation of which we, in common with nearly all the world, were unacquainted, and, consequently, when there in the power of a people who, though they might be sufficiently powerful to detain a single vessel, would probably, should any intentions of the kind exist, be overawed by the presence of two."

CHAPTER XXII

Narrow Escape from Tigers—Startling Phenomenon—Pagoda Dedicated to Evil Spirits—Natives Worship the Devil through Fear—The Bewitched Dog—Arrival of the *Marmion*—Diplomacy of Mr. Putnam.

CAPTAIN WHITE'S Journal grows in interest the further we peruse it. In the last chapter his narrative closed at the point where it was agreed between the commander of the *Franklin* and the new commander of the ship *Marmion* to return in company to the Donnai. It was a venture fraught with much hardship and many perils. The Journal goes on to say:

“The last days of August and the first days of September were marked with strong gales from the southwest, with vast quantities of rain, during which arrived the *Beverly*, an American ship from Boston, belonging to the owner of the *Marmion*. She had

attempted to beat up against the monsoon from Turon to Cape St. James, but after being a long while on the coast of Cochin China, contending with constant southwest gales, she was obliged to give up the struggle and proceed to Manila.

“The *Marmion* being now ready for sea, on the 6th day of September we took leave of Cavité and proceeded out of the bay. For the purpose of being well to windward, our course had been shaped so as to range within a few leagues of the northern limits of the various banks, shoals, and reefs scattered in great profusion over that part of the China Sea situated to the westward of the island of Palawan. This precaution was the means of shortening the passage considerably, for when we reached the 112th degree of east longitude the wind veered round to the south and westward, in which quarter it prevailed during the residue of the passage. On arriving at Canjeo we learnt that the *Aurora* of Salem, commanded by Captain Robert Gould, had been on the river since the departure of the *Marmion*. After

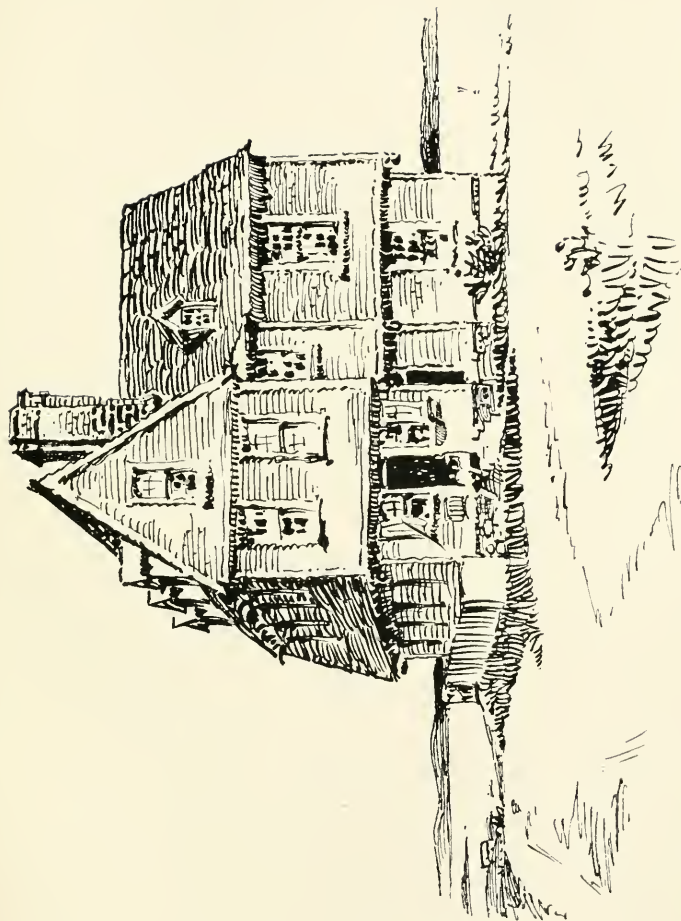
his departure from the Donnai, we learned that he visited the island of Cham Callao, whence the captain proceeded to Turon, but being unsuccessful in his attempts to trade there, he afterwards proceeded to Manila. We were also informed that another ship had stretched into the bay of Vung Han, and lay near the land one day without anchoring, after which she bore up and stood to the northward. This ship was the *Beverly*, Captain John Gardner, which had arrived at Manila a few days previous to our sailing from there, as has been mentioned. . . .

“Invitations were sent to us to visit the mandarins frequently, but we determined to avail ourselves of their civilities no further than our business demanded, as we had been made sensible of the actual cost of this kind of intercourse on our first visit to their country. In the afternoon, after having visited the bazaar and purchased a few articles of refreshments for the ships’ companies, we returned on board for the benefit of fresh air. On the following morning our curiosity led

us to visit a small pagoda erected on the Daijang point, dedicated to the evil spirit ; for these people, like some of our Indian tribes, worship the devil from fear.

“ We took our fowling-pieces with us, in expectation of meeting game, and our carpenters being in want of some knees to repair boats, axes were taken with us with the view of penetrating into the woods to cut some. After we had gained *terra firma*, no little difficulty was experienced in getting through the close jungles of mangrove and other trees whose roots and branches spread themselves into the most fantastic shapes, and were interwoven with each other in every direction, while various procumbent plants crossed our path, and the earth under them—which was a perfect morass—gave way to the weight of our bodies, so that we sunk nearly to our knees at every step.

“ We now proceeded to examine the pagoda, near which we had landed. The frame was composed of rough trunks of trees, and the walls were constructed of small poles, closely interwoven with osiers,



Philip English House, erected in 1683 and demolished in 1833. Mr. English was one of the earliest merchants of Salem.

Drawing from an old print.

and the roof was thatched with palm-leaves. At the further end of the room, which was about 15 feet square, was seated a small wooden idol with an elephant's proboscis, not unlike some of the objects of Hindoo worship, but of the most rude and disproportionate manufacture. On the other side of the table was placed a brazen censer and an earthen vessel half filled with ashes. The whole establishment was in a ruinous state and appeared to be seldom visited.

“On relating the incidents of our excursion on shore to the linguist in the afternoon, he appeared to be astonished at our escape from the tigers, of which vast numbers infest the woods, and told us that the spot of ground around the pagoda had been cleared beyond the leap of these animals on account of the depredations that had been committed by them previous to the adoption of the precautionary measure of destroying their coverts, and that any attempt to penetrate into the jungle was considered eminently hazardous.

“After some further discussion with the

mandarin, we offered to pay the expense of a boat to take two persons to Saigon immediately, and to advance thirty dollars to the mandarin and linguist, for which amount they were to give an order on the government at the city, to be deducted from our charges in the event of our proceeding up to it in the ships ; and they, after a due proportion of doubling and shifting, accepted the proposition. Mr. Putnam of the *Marmion*, and a sailor who spoke Portuguese, were selected for the mission, as they had before been there with Captain Blanchard. At six o'clock they started on their trip.

“ Being on shore the following day, a favorite spaniel strayed from me, and my efforts to find him were fruitless, so I was reluctantly obliged to return on board without poor Pinto. I directed the linguist to offer the natives a reward for him, but so great was their dread of the tigers that none of them would undertake the search ; nor were we surprised at their reluctance when the interpreter informed us that all the woods around the village were filled with

wild animals, and that it was not infrequently the case for the inhabitants to be carried off by them, and that we might attribute our escape from their fangs to the report of our guns, which had intimidated them.

“It was not Pinto’s fate, however, to furnish food for the tigers, for, on the third day after losing him, he was discovered on the beach by an officer in one of the boats, who was going on shore to the bazaar, but no effort he made could induce the dog to come near him ; and it was not till the boat had been sent the third time, with a sailor who was a particular favorite of his, that we gained possession of him. But the most complete metamorphosis had been effected in his character and appearance by his temporary separation from us, for from being a lively, playful, and bold dog, he had now become dull, morose, and timid, scarcely deigning to notice our caresses ; and, from being round and fat, he had become in that short time a mere skeleton. This anecdote, trifling in itself, I should not have men-

tioned, but for the consequent light it threw on the proneness of these people to superstitious ideas, for they gravely assured us that the tigers had bewitched the dog, and that he was now endued with supernatural powers, and should no longer be treated as a dog, but as a being of superior intelligence.

“On the first day of October, being the fifth since our arrival, the interpreter came on board and informed us that we might proceed up the river as far as Naga Bay till we received permission to go up to the city. We weighed anchor and sailed, but the frequent calms obliged us to anchor often. At 10 in the evening we had only gained about three miles from Canjeo, when we anchored for the night. Besides the linguist, who was occasionally on board each vessel, we had two soldiers who were to direct us how to steer.

“Our sails were scarcely furled when two boats were perceived coming down the river. Our linguist began to manifest strong symptoms of trepidation, and informed us that he feared that they were ladrones or

pirates, with which he said the river abounded. He had scarcely made this declaration before we were hailed in English, when we immediately recognized the voice of Mr. Putnam, who proclaimed that he had been successful in his commission. His joyful tidings were received with three hearty cheers from both ships, and answered by the reverberations of a thousand echoes from the interminable forests which were spread on each side of us. He was accompanied by an old Portuguese called Joachim, who was born in Lisbon, but who had not been in Europe within 40 years. He was married in Siam, and claimed that as his country, having abnegated his own. He had resided some months in Saigon, which he visited on his way from Turin, where he left a Portuguese brig in consequence of a quarrel with the captain, as he stated. As he had made considerable proficiency in the Anamese language and could talk French and Portuguese fluently, he was considered a valuable acquisition.

“Mr. Putnam was cordially received by

the authorities. He was assured that there would be no difficulty in procuring cargoes immediately. According to arrangements, Joachim was sent on board the ship, and the linguist, who was a Christian Cochin Chinese, named Mariano, was appropriated to the brig, which was to lead, as pilot and interpreter.

“The flood tide coming in at about 10 o'clock we again weighed anchor, and a few moments opened to us a view of a large sheet of water having the appearance of a capacious estuary, with the foam of numerous conflicting currents rippling upon its surface. This, our linguist informed us, was Naga Bay, or sete-bocas, into which we were rapidly borne by a strong tide. A pleasant breeze from the north filling our loftiest sails, which overtopped the surrounding forest, we were not long in passing it.

“The prospect from this noble basin, though possessing few features of the sublime, was beautiful and romantic. Lofty and venerable trees crowned the points

formed by the affluence of the several streams, which, branching in various directions, like so many radii from a center, presented to view long vistas, fringed on each side with foliage of different shades of verdure, while their polished surfaces reflected, with chastened beauty, the varied tints of the impending forests.

“From the contemplation of this fascinating scene our attention was diverted to a new and curious phenomenon. Our ears were saluted by a variety of sounds resembling the deep bass of an organ, accompanied by the hollow guttural chant of the bullfrog, the heavy chimes of a bell, and the tones which imagination would give to an immense jewsharp. This combination produced a thrilling sensation on the nerves, and, as we fancied, a tremendous motion in the vessel. The excitement of curiosity was visible on every white face on board, and many were the sage speculations of the sailors on this occasion. Anxious to discover the cause of this gratuitous concert, I went into the cabin where I found the

noise, which I soon ascertained proceeded from the bottom of the vessel, increased to a full and uninterrupted chorus. The perceptions which occurred to me on this occasion were similar to those produced by the torpedo, or electric eel, which I had before felt. But whether these feelings were caused by the concussion of sound, or by actual vibrations in the body of the vessel, I could neither then nor have I since determined. In a few minutes the sounds, which had commenced near the stern of the vessel, became general throughout the whole length of the bottom. Our linguist informed us that the strange sounds were caused by a shoal of fish, of a flat, oval form, like a flounder, which, by a certain conformation of the mouth, possesses the power of adhesion to other objects in a wonderful degree, and that they were peculiar to the 'Seven Mouths.' But whether the noises we heard were produced by any particular construction of the sonoric organs, or by spasmodic vibrations of the body, he was ignorant. After proceeding a

mile, our musical fellow-voyagers were no more heard.

“No variation had taken place in the features of the country since leaving Canjeo, and nothing was visible from the deck beyond the banks of the river. Thousands of monkeys were chattering and gamboling in the trees, and with the glass we could perceive several of them perched among the foliage, surveying with great apparent interest the novel spectacle presented to their view. Mariano, the interpreter, who had ever since our leaving Canjeo expressed great fears of the ladrones, who he told us infested the river, was now unusually apprehensive of an attack by them. He related several stories of vessels which had been cut off by them, and that a Siamese junk, the preceding year, which was then at Saigon, had beat off a band of them who had boarded her, with the loss of many lives on both sides. He therefore stated the absolute necessity of a strict watch during the night, and desired us not to permit any boat to come alongside after dark, as no honest

people, he observed, could want to visit us at that time. I told him that we should be always ready to repel attacks from any quarter. This assurance appeared to give him great satisfaction. . . . As the *Marmion* had been left at some distance astern in the course of the last tide, we did not weigh anchor on the sixth till more than an hour after the commencement of the flood tide, when, her topgallant-sails and royals appearing over the trees in the reach below us, we again lifted our anchor and spread all our canvas to a gentle gale from the southwest. Passing along, a woman was seen guiding a plough drawn by a buffalo. Our linguist told us that she was preparing the land to sow rice.

“For some hours a mass of heavy black clouds had been accumulating in the northern quarter, and had now assumed a very formidable aspect. One of the soldiers we had on board assured us that no apprehension need be entertained on account of these ominous appearances. In a few moments, however, the tempest approached us with



Ship *Hazard 1st*. Built in Salem, 1799.

From water-color painting by M. Corné (1805). Peabody Academy of Science.



a most threatening aspect. The pregnant clouds, rolling forward with great impetuosity, darkness almost impenetrable, succeeding the clear and tranquil twilight, enveloping in its dim shades the surrounding objects, the most tremendous thunder, bursting with deafening peals over our heads, and the gleaming lightning in flashes of rapid succession, temporarily depriving us of the power of vision, were the immediate precursors of the gale. A vivid flash of light at this moment disclosed the entrance of the river.

“The heaviest anchor was immediately dropped, and the vessel swung with impetuous force to the gale, and rendered all our efforts to secure the sails unsuccessful. The leadsman who had been ordered to sound from the stern found himself embowered in a thick forest which overhung that part of the ship. The storm continued for about half an hour with unabated fury, when the thunder began to roll away in the distance, and the flashes of lightning which had filled the air with liquid fire were now ‘beautifully

less.' At 2 o'clock on the morning of the 7th we were again pursuing our course towards our destination. As the *Marmion* had not been in sight since the preceding day, we were under serious apprehensions that some accident had befallen her."

CHAPTER XXIII

Arrival of the *Franklin* at Saigon—Captain White's Graphic Description of the Natives—His Visit to an Official's House—Reception by the Governor—Description of Saigon.

CAPTAIN WHITE and crew were apprehensive as to the fate of the ship *Marmion*. It is not to be wondered at that the captain was sorely troubled, when it is remembered that that ship and her master were closely identified with his own venture of ascending a river upon which they would be beset with manifold dangers. That he weighed anchor with much reluctance and many misgivings can also be well imagined. He was being separated from friends speaking his own language, and was about to face unknown trials. Captain White was well fitted, however, for the hazardous duties he was called upon to assume. It can truly be said of him:

“He screwed his courage to the sticking place,
And did not fail.”

Captain White's Journal continues :

“In the afternoon of the 7th of October we arrived and moored before the city of Saigon. The distance we had sailed from Cape St. James to the city was $59\frac{1}{2}$ miles, with the meanderings of the river. A few moments after we had moored, a covered boat came alongside, and several people, who from their garb and number of attendants, appeared to be of superior rank, came on board, one of whom, addressing us in good Spanish, congratulated us on our arrival and gave me an invitation to his house. I accepted the invitation to visit him at his abode, a part of which was visible between the trunks of the areka-nut trees and shrubbery by which it was shaded.

“Pasqual's daughter, a coarse girl of 19, was seated in a corner weaving a sort of rough silk stuff of a yellowish color, about 18 inches wide. The loom, though of rude construction, did not differ materially in principle from ours. Among the members of the family, whose curiosity was excited by the novelty of the spectacle which we

presented, was a blear-eyed old woman, furrowed and smoke-dried, whose blackened and lank jaws and gums, *sans* teeth, grinned horribly a ghastly smile. A few hoary elf-locks undulated on her palsied pate, whose vibrations, which at first view might have been mistaken for courtesy, were by no means in unison with the hag-like expression of her visage. This superstructure was placed on a pedestal, which resembled one of those curiously carved balusters which decorate the staircases of some old-fashioned mansions, according to that laudable style of architecture which has now, unhappily, become obsolete. The shape of the base, for she was sitting, if shape it may be called, resembled a mass of matter which had undergone the process of fusion.

“After having gratified our curiosity in examining the various objects which were presented to view, we were reconducted to the veranda, where tea and confectionery were presented us. A female figure, of ample proportions and a smiling countenance,

was our Hebe. She was about 16 and a ward of our host. Her father, who was absent, was a native of Macao, and her mother (who was dead) a Cochin-Chinese. She was the most interesting object we had seen among these people, but our feelings of complacency were not a little deranged when, approaching us with her offering of tea and betel, we 'nosed her atmosphere.' She was dressed in black silk trousers and a tunic, or robe, which descended nearly to her ankles. Her hair, glossy with coconut oil, was tastefully gathered into a knot on top of her head, which was encircled with a turban of black crape. Her face and neck, guiltless of meretricious ornaments, were, however, decorated with variegated streaks, the accidental accumulation of extraneous matter which had come in contact with them. Her feet were naked and indurated, and the forefinger of each hand was armed with an opaque claw two inches in length.

"Two or three other females, among whom was our hostess, whose dress and appear-

ance did not materially differ from what I have just described, hovered around us with marks of eager curiosity and open mouths, which disclosed their straggling fangs, blackened with areka and betel. Mangy and disgusting curs were lying about in every direction, which, on our approach, set up the most dismal yells and fled from us with great precipitation, entrenching themselves behind various objects from whence they regaled us with a continual yelping during our visit. Pigs, fowls, and ducks were perambulating the premises, and had free access to every part of the mansion.

“Observing the elder females in deep discussion, and perceiving by their manner that we were the object of their conversation, we were informed by Pasqual, our host, that they were merchants and had assembled at his house for the purpose of making arrangements for the despatch of our business ; and that they desired to know what merchandise we were in pursuit of, what price we intended to give for sugar and other articles, etc. But we being unwilling to evince any

anxiety to commence business, and determined not to communicate our views to them until we had learned of the fate of the *Marmion*, and had had an interview with the government, pleaded fatigue as an excuse and returned on board.

“The boats belonging to the larger country vessels amused us by their singular form and construction, the former being the longitudinal section of an oblate spheroid, and the latter of wicker-work, covered with *gul-gul*, a mixture of oil, pitch, and lime. A single species of amusement, and a proof of filthy abandonment, was exhibited in the fruit boats and others navigated by more than one woman. This was no other than hunting vermin on each other’s heads, in which they were very successful, and the game appeared to be highly relished. We afterwards found that this recreation was not a monopoly of the lower orders, but participated in by ladies of high rank. *Ab uno disce omnes*.

“A message was sent to the acting viceroy or governor announcing the arrival at Saigon

of the *Franklin*, and our intention of making him a visit when the *Marmion* should join us, which was answered with congratulations, assurances of protection, offers of services, and an invitation for the commanders and officers of both vessels to an audience as soon as it should suit our convenience.

“A pressing invitation from Pasqual induced us to take our lodging at his house, where we, Mr. Bessel and myself, sent our own mattresses, but the noisome stench and vermin, combined with our anxiety for the arrival of the *Marmion*, effectually prevented our sleeping. The morning tide relieved us from the latter object of disquietude, as it brought the ship up, and she moored just above us. She had experienced the bad weather before related, but escaped without injury, though in great danger, having drifted some distance, with two anchors ahead in the great river, and from the violence of the wind not being able to furl her sails till the gale was ended.

“Our first object was to establish the mode of presentation, as we had been told that the

most degrading obeisances would be exacted from us. The interpreters were despatched to the governor, acquainting him with our readiness to wait on him and to use the same external marks of respect and ceremony which we should practice in our own country on a similar occasion. An answer was soon returned that, although their usages required from all ambassadors and others who visited the country prostrations and genuflections the most profound and abject, yet, in consideration of our being strangers and not disciplined in their forms of etiquette, the governor would dispense with this ceremony in our case, and only require on our introduction three bows, the manner of performing which was illustrated by the interpreters, they remarking, at the same time, that their punctilio had never been objected to by the Portuguese, Chinese, Siamese, and other strangers who had visited their country, consequently we should view it as a mark of great condescension. As no reasonable objection could be made to this proposal, we readily acceded to it. In the selection of

presents we were much annoyed by the presence of the linguists and the 'she-merchants' who had followed us on board. We finally were obliged to turn them on deck and place a guard at the cabin door to get rid of their importunities.

"Four globe lamps, four elegant cut-glass decanters, a pair of pistols, some wine glasses, tumblers, perfumery, cordials, wine, a few bottles of rum, and a handsome ornamented box to contain his betel, areka, and chunam, were the articles which we chose to present to the acting viceroy. Our party consisted of the commanders of both vessels, with two young men, Messrs. Putnam and Bessel, a sailor of the *Marmion* who spoke the Portuguese language well, old Joachim the Portuguese pilot, a commissary of marine and four mandarins, the whole preceded by three of the government linguists bearing the presents.

"We shortly arrived before the palace of the governor, and were shown into a guard-house opposite. We had not been long waiting when we were informed that the

great personage within was ready to receive us. On an elevation was seated, in the Asiatic style, the acting governor, a meager, wrinkled, cautious-looking old man, whose countenance, though relenting into a dubious smile, indicated anything but fair-dealing and sincerity. Seated on either side of him were officials of different degrees of rank. Files of soldiers, with their two-handed swords, and shields covered with indurated buffalo hides, were drawn up in various parts of the hall.

“A motion of the governor’s hand indicated that we should be seated. The presents were then passed to him by the linguists. He expressed much satisfaction, and welcomed us in a very gracious manner, and made many inquiries of our health, the length of our voyage, the distance of our country from Anam, the object of our visit, etc. After satisfying him in these particulars he promised us every facility in the prosecution of our views. Tea, sweetmeats, areka, and betel were passed to us, and we vainly endeavored to introduce the subjects of

sagouetes (presents), and port charges for anchorage, tonnage, etc., but all recurrence to these subjects was artfully waived by him, he promising to satisfy us at the next interview.

“On our way back we passed several of the royal elephants, attended by their drivers, who were sitting on their necks. Some of these beasts were of enormous size, indeed much larger than any I had ever seen in any part of India. They were passing to and from the river side, where they resorted to drink. On passing us they would slacken their pace and view with great apparent interest objects so unusual as our white faces and European garb presented ; nor were we totally divested of some degree of apprehension at first, from the intense gaze and marked attention of these enormous beasts. Indeed, the Anamese appeared to fear some accident might accrue to us from our novel appearance, and advised us to assume the costume of the country to prevent any accident, which advice we generally thereafter complied with, at which they were always

highly gratified, viewing it as a compliment. Nor was this unattended with other advantages, for our dresses were those of civil mandarins of the second order, which gained us greater respect from the populace. The dress worn by me is now in the Museum of the East India Marine Society of Salem.

“Our attention was excited by the vociferations of an old woman who filled the bazaar with her complaints. A soldier was standing near her loaded down with fruits, vegetables, and poultry, listening to her with great nonchalance. She finally ceased, from exhaustion, when the soldier, laughing heartily, left the stall and proceeded to another, where he began to select what best suited him. We observed that, in the direction he was moving, the proprietors of the stalls were engaged in secreting the best commodities. On inquiry, we found that the depredator was authorized, without fear of appeal, to cater for his master, a mandarin of high rank, and his exactions were levied at his own discretion, and without any remuneration being given.



Ship *Hazard 2d*. (Type of 1850.)



“As a proof of the abundance which reigns in the bazaars, and the extreme cheapness of living in Saigon, I shall quote the prices of several articles, viz.: Pork, 3 cents per pound; beef, 4 cents per pound; fowls, 50 cents per dozen; ducks, 10 cents each; eggs, 50 cents per hundred; pigeons, 30 cents per dozen; varieties of shell and scale fish sufficient for the ship’s company, 50 cents; a fine deer, \$1.25; 100 large yams, 30 cents; rice, \$1 per picul of 150 pounds; sweet potatoes, 45 cents per picul; oranges, from 30 cents to \$1 per hundred; cocoanuts, \$1 per hundred; lemons, 50 cents per hundred. As I am now on the subject of fruit, I will say that it excelled what we had seen in other parts of the East Indies. The jack-fruit grows from the trunk of a pretty large tree, to which it is attached by a slender stem, apparently disproportionate to the weight of the fruit, which weighs frequently 10 or 15 pounds. It is, when ripe, of a yellowish green. It is highly esteemed by the natives in its raw state, and is an ingredient in some of their made dishes.

“The mango is of a delicious and refreshing flavor, and when ripe is of a rich yellow color. The papaw or paw-paw, is in shape like a European pear with yellow pulp, and is highly esteemed. The pomegranate, celebrated in Scripture, must, in my opinion, have greatly degenerated. It contains a large number of seeds, each surrounded by a sub-acid fluid. From its astringent qualities it is considered a specific in dysentery by the East Indians. The custard apple is a most delicious fruit. The pulp is of the consistence and nearly the color of a custard. When ripe it bursts with a slight pressure of the hand, and is eaten with a spoon. The guava, the anana, or pineapple, the several species of the plantain, the banana, the alligator pear, lemons, limes, oranges, tamarinds, cocoanuts, watermelons, and many other fruits were in great abundance.

“During our walk we were constantly annoyed by hundreds of yelping curs, whose din was intolerable. In the bazaars we were beset with beggars, many of whom were the most miserable, disgusting objects,

some of whom were disfigured with leprosy, and others with their toes, feet, and even legs eaten off by vermin or disease. Nor were these the only subjects of annoyance, for notwithstanding the efforts and the expostulations of the officers who accompanied us, and our frequently chastising them with our canes, the populace would crowd around us, almost suffocating us with the fetor of their bodies, and feel every article of our dress with their dirty paws, chattering like so many baboons. They even proceeded to take off our hats and thrust their hands into our bosoms, so that we were glad to escape to our boats and return on board, looking like chimney-sweeps from the rough handling we had received.

“The city of Saigon contains 180,000 inhabitants, of which about 10,000 are Chinese, according to authentic and official statements which I received from Father Joseph—of whom I shall have occasion to speak hereafter—and from the military governor, who returned from a visit to the royal city of Hue a short time subsequent to our

arrival. Equi-distant from the extremities of the city is a large range of buildings of handsome construction. These are the magazines of rice, which is a regular monopoly, and the exportation of it is prohibited on pain of decapitation. Each vessel departing from the country is allowed a certain quantity for provisions in proportion to the number of her crew. A large Siamese junk was lying in the creek, on the Banga side of the river, the captain and officers of which had been executed a short time previous to our arrival, and the crew were then in prison, for a violation of this edict. . . . The ship timber and planks here excelled anything I had ever seen. I measured one plank whose dimensions were 100 feet long, more than four inches thick, and perfectly squared to the top. It was sawed out of the trunk of a teak tree. The Anamese are certainly most skillful naval architects, and finish their work with great neatness. I was so much pleased with this portion of their political economy that I made frequent visits to the naval arsenal.

“ On our return on board, we found some officers who had been despatched by the governor to acquaint us that the following day was proposed for the ceremony of measuring the ships, for a ceremony, we were told, it invariably had been, and could not be dispensed with, and it was expected a feast would be prepared for the throng of officers who would visit us on this occasion. Preparations were accordingly made to receive them under the superintendence of Pasqual's wife, who, on this occasion, produced an abundance of dishes of various kinds, principally of oriental origin, such as pilaw, curry, mullagatawny, kedgerree, etc., and great varieties of confectionery and fruits. Our fears were not a little excited that these hot and pungent dishes would require no small quantities of diluents to assist their powers of deglutition.

“ To eke out our own stock, we purchased some of the whiskey of the country, made of rice, to administer to them, mixed with European liquors, and this, we found on trial, took so well that on subsequent occasions

we constantly practised it, but were obliged to be cautious not to administer it till they began to be pretty tipsy, for fear of detection. In fact, toward the catastrophe, rice whiskey answered every purpose.

“In pursuance of arrangements, at about 9 o'clock on the morning of Sunday, the 10th of October, our boats were sent to escort the gang of spongers on board. The commissary, whom we have before mentioned, and to whom we became subsequently attached, in consequence of his being less of a rogue than the generality of these people, was the first to present himself. He was followed by the collector of customs, a covetous-looking old hunk with a Jew phiz, and his nose and chin in close intimacy, whose subsequent conduct did not belie our skill in physiognomy. In his suite were many others of various ranks, who, with their long trains of servants, filled the decks with their bodies and the air with the perfumes from them.”

CHAPTER XXIV

Conspiracy to Defraud the Captain—Villainy and Turpitude of Officials—Everybody Clamorous for Presents, from the King down—Women Merchants—Remarkable Story about a Tigress and a Puppy—Selling Wives to Creditors.

THE captains of the *Franklin* and *Marmion* were completely at the mercy of the Viceroy's officials in regard to the measurement of the ships, and were doomed to pay whatever tonnage duties the rogues saw fit to impose. It was a barefaced act, from which there was no redress: hence, the captains had to submit to the fate which awaited them with what degree of complacency they could command. Captain White continues his Journal as follows :

“Immediately after the first introduction, which was conducted with some ceremony though with little civility, demands were made for liquors, and as we were anxious to get rid of them as speedily as possible,

we hastened to gratify them, and then urged them to proceed to business. It was not, however, till after a long consultation, in which they were frequently very loud and vociferous, that they commenced their operations, the manner of which was as follows : A line perpendicular to each end of the keel is marked on deck, one-third of the distance from the mark nearest the stern to that forward is set off for the place of admeasurement, where a straight pole is placed horizontally across the ship, over the gunwale, from which plummets are suspended in order to find a line perpendicular to the wales in that part, which is marked on the pole.

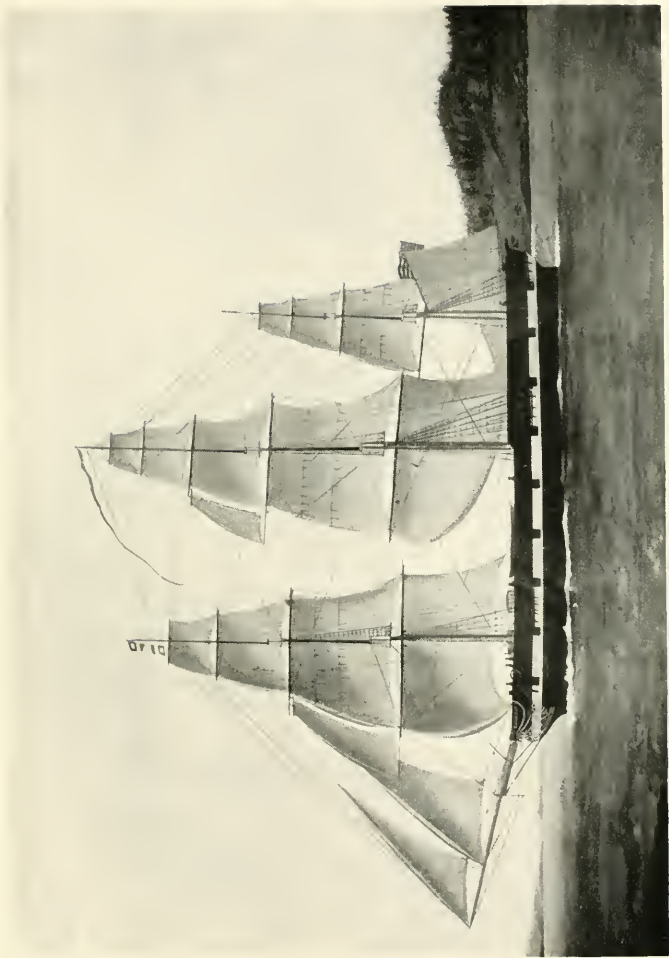
“ On this measurement the tonnage duty is payable by the touick, or covid, a measure of sixteen and six-tenths inches, which is divided into decimal fractions, which are called by the natives tat, and by the linguists puntas, from the Portuguese, thus : 10 tat make a touick, or covid. The exaction of this measurement is made at the rate of 100 quans, or 80 Spanish dollars, per covid.

On the amount so found is an imposition of 3 per cent. to pay the officers for the trouble and expense of measuring. Another exaction of 1 per cent. is made in favor of the soldiers for the trouble and expense of looking on ; and to crown the climax of extortions the government allows but 18 mace, called the Anamese tien, each equal to five cents, for a Spanish dollar, when paid them for anchorage, etc.; whereas in the bazaars, and in all other commercial operations, the dollar is always worth two quans of ten mace each. The mace is divided into 60 parts called dong by the natives, and by the Portuguese sepeks. Sixty dong, or sepeks, make a tien or mace, and 10 tien make a quan.

“After having settled the measurement, which was not done without some quarrelling between the commissary and the collector, on whom the potations seemed to have contrary effects, the former strongly inclining to favor us, and the latter to cheat us by extending the measure, they proceeded to gorge themselves with what had

been prepared for them. It would afford but little, if any, amusement to recapitulate the scene of debauchery which ensued ; suffice it to say that about 12 o'clock they proceeded on board the *Marmion* where the same shameless conduct was repeated; the quarrel about measurement, however, being carried on with more asperity, the old collector's rapacity increasing in a ratio with his inebriety. At about 4 o'clock, much to our satisfaction, they departed and left us in possession of quiet, but by no means clean, ships. Among many other impurities, not the least disgusting was the saliva impregnated with their masticatory, which had been liberally ejected in every part, as chance might direct, leaving crimson spots which required no little labor to efface.

“ On the following day we paid another visit to the governor for the purpose of regulating the amount of sagouetes, etc. He informed us that there was a fixed and immutable law of the kingdom regulating these matters, which he dare not pretend to



Ship *Brooklyn*. (Type of 1830.)

From an oil painting owned by Geo. H. Allen,

abrogate or evade, and even if he wished to do it, there were so many other officers who were to participate with him, that that attempt must necessarily prove futile. Before departing, we were informed by the linguist that the governor was about despatching a courier to the king with our official papers, and desired to know if we wished to send him a present. We answered him in the affirmative, and knowing there was a French naval officer in the service of that monarch, we requested permission to write to him, which he readily granted. We accordingly prepared a letter in French, to M. Vannier, the king's admiral at Hue, requesting his good offices in our behalf, and that he would endeavor to procure a reduction of the sagouetes, and he was requested to present to his majesty an elegant sabre, which accompanied the letter.

“Scarcely had this party taken leave before we were visited on board the vessel by a bevy of women, who we found were merchants, or rather merchandise brokers. They, after asking for and receiving a glass

of brandy each, began to open business, offering sugar, silk, cotton, and other articles for sale, but produced no samples. We were astonished to find that the article of sugar, which they knew was the primary one with us, or, at least, what had been the most inquired for, had risen from 80 to 100 per cent. since our arrival, but that other articles had not advanced in the same ratio. Finding this to be the case, we were more particular in our inquiries for silk, cotton, gambooge, and other articles, the reputed productions of the country, of which we ordered them to bring samples, after being told their respective prices. They came on board the following day. Our astonishment may, however, be conceived when they informed us that the commodities of which we had inquired the previous day had advanced about 50 per cent. in price.

“It would be tedious and painful to recapitulate the constant villainy and turpitude which we experienced from these people during our residence in this country. Their total want of faith, constant eagerness

to deceive and overreach us, and their pertinacity in trying to gain by shuffling and manœuvring, what might have been better and easier gained by openness and fair-dealing ; the tedious forms and ceremonies in transacting all kinds of business ; the uncertainty of the eventful ratification of any bargain, unless there is a written contract, which is never made till every art has been used and every engine of extortion put in motion and exhausted to gain more ; all these vexations, combined with the rapacious, faithless, despotic, and anti-commercial character of the government, will, as long as these causes exist, render Cochin China the least desirable country for mercantile adventurers. These causes have made Japan relinquish the trade ; they have driven the Portuguese of Macao from the country and turned their commerce into other channels, and are yearly and rapidly lessening their intercourse with China and Siam. The philanthropist, the man of enterprise, and the civilized world generally can see in the present miserable state of this

naturally fine country no other than a source of deep regret and commiseration.

“The climate of Cochin China is as fine as that of any other country within the torrid zone ; the periodical winds passing over and refreshing every part of it. The winters are unusually cool for the latitude in which it is situated, and the keen breezes from the mountains are favorable to health and vigor. The mountains produce gold, silver, copper, iron, and other metals. The forests, besides the various kinds of odoriferous woods, such as eagle, the rose, the sappan, and others, afford ironwood, several species of the varnish tree, the dammer or pitch tree, the gambooge, the bamboo, and the rattan, besides a great variety of woods useful in dyeing, in construction, and in the mechanic arts. The country also produces cinnamon, honey, wax, peltry of various kinds, areka, betel, tobacco, cotton, raw silk, sugar, musk, cassia, pepper, indigo, sago, ivory, gold dust, rhinoceros’ horns, and rice of six different kinds.

“Rice, being an article of such universal

consumption, receives more care in its cultivation than any other article in the country. White flour is made of rice, and is used in making cakes and various kinds of confectionery. Some of the varieties of rice produced two crops in a year; others five crops in two years. I have heard it asserted that the coffee-tree is indigenous in Cochin China. This is a great mistake. Some of the missionaries have a few trees in their gardens, procured from Java. While in Saigon, I received a present of about four pounds in the pod, from a missionary, and this he told me was about one-fiftieth part of what was produced in the province that year.

“The Anamese speak with great energy of the irresistible strength and amazing velocity of the rhinoceros. They say he moves so rapidly that it is difficult for the eye to keep pace with his movements; that no object in his way is any impediment to his rapid career; that he beats down rocks, walls, and large trees with great ease, and that his track can be easily traced by the

ruins in his rear. Speaking of this animal one day to the viceroy, he observed : ' You now see him here before you in Saigon ' ; and, snapping his fingers, ' now he is in Canjeo. ' However hyperbolical these accounts appear to be, we may yet infer from them that the animal is of astonishing strength.

“ The common tiger of Cochin China is not greatly dreaded, but the royal tiger is a most terrific animal. The governor presented one of the latter to the commander of each ship. They were confined in very strong cages of ironwood. That which I had was a beautiful female, about two years old, nearly three feet high and five feet long. (Her skin is now in the Museum of the East India Marine Society at Salem.) In consequence of losing, by bad weather, the stock of puppies and kids provided for her on the homeward passage, we were obliged to shoot her. A remarkable anecdote relative to this animal I cannot forbear relating. In Saigon, where dogs are ' dog cheap, ' we used to give the tiger one every day.

They were thrown alive into her cage, where, after playing with her victim for a while, as a cat does with a mouse, her eyes would begin to glisten and her tail to vibrate, which were the immediate precursors of death to the devoted little prisoner, which was invariably seized by the back of the neck, the incisors of the sanguinary beast perforating the jugular arteries, while she would traverse the cage, which she lashed with her tail, and suck the blood of her prey which hung suspended from her mouth. One day a puppy, not at all remarkable or distinguishable in appearance from the 'common herd,' was thrown into the cage. He set up a dismal yell and attacked the tigress with great fury, snapping at her nose and drawing blood. The tigress appeared to be amused at the puny rage of the puppy, and with as good-humored an expression of countenance as so ferocious an animal could be supposed to assume, she affected to treat it all as play. Sometimes she would spread herself at full length on her side, at others, crouching in the manner of the fabled

Sphinx, she would ward off with her paw the incensed little animal till he was finally exhausted. She then proceeded to caress him into confidence, in which she finally succeeded, and in a short time they lay down together and slept.

“From this time they were inseparable, the tigress appearing to feel for the puppy all the solicitude of a mother, and the puppy in return treating her with the greatest affection. A small aperture was left open in the cage by which he had free ingress and egress. Experiments were subsequently made by presenting a strange dog at the bars of the cage, when the tigress would manifest great eagerness to get at it. Her adopted child was then thrown in, on which she would eagerly pounce, but immediately discovering the cheat, she would caress it with great tenderness. The natives made several unsuccessful attempts to steal the dog from us.

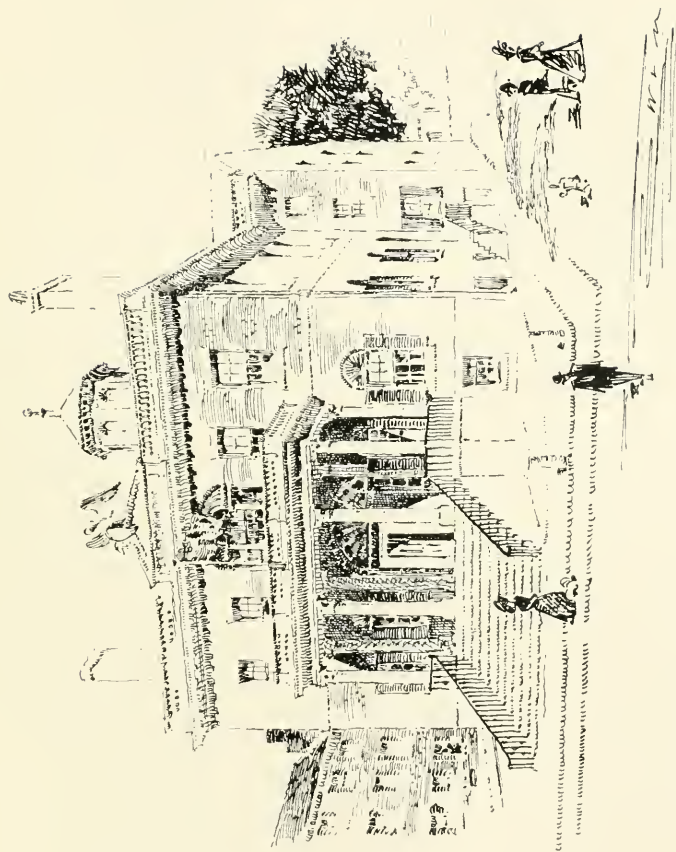
“The coin of the country is perforated with a square hole in the center, and strung upon a ligature made generally of the fibers

of the pineapple leaf. The string is divided in the middle by a knot, and five mace, or 300 sepecks, strung on each side, and the ends tied together. Specimens of each kind are deposited in the Salem East India Marine Museum. A silver ingot, current in the country when I left it, at three quans and five mace, I have also deposited in the Museum.

“Our time was spent till the 14th in fruitless negotiations for cargoes, the produce of the country rising in price daily. We finally determined to take a house at old Saigon, as we were informed that the supercargoes of the Macao ships and of the Chinese junks made this their place of residence, it being the principal mart of commerce in the division. We accordingly hired a house of the widow of a Portuguese of Macao, herself a Cochin-Chinese, at the rate of \$150 for three months. The house was situated on the bank of a small stream which washes the southern borders of old Saigon. On the opposite bank of the stream was an estate belonging to the acting governor, where he

occasionally resided ; he was, in fact, there when we removed, and the second day after taking possession of our new habitation we visited him by invitation. We met with the usual reception—tea, sweetmeats, areka, etc., were presented us, and, while we were sipping our tea, an explosion like that of a pistol took place near us, which produced an involuntary start in us, highly amusing his excellency. He had lately received from Hue some intonating balls, made of a fulminating powder which had been imported in the French ships, and took this occasion, unobserved by us, to throw one upon the pavement behind us, where it exploded.

“ We had a long conversation on the subject of merchandise, more especially sugar. He inveighed against the holders of that article with great acrimony, and advised us not to be in a hurry or show any impatience, as they, he observed, must finally come to our terms ; for, if we departed without purchasing, the commodity would be left on their hands, and, as they had bought it of the manufacturers at an advanced price—so



Salem Custom House (built 1818), in which Hawthorne planned his
 "Scarlet Letter."

great was the competition to speculate upon and to forestall us—for which they had no means of payment but the proceeds of this very article, they, in case of failure, must sell their wives and children to meet their creditors. On the following day we discovered that the old rogue was, *sub rosa*, the principal sugar holder in the district. They well knew that, in regard to merchandise, we were completely in their power, for we had, by coming up the river, rendered ourselves liable to pay measurement dues, sagouetes, etc., and that we would not return without purchasing parts of cargoes, at least, although at a very dear rate, and it appeared that they were practicing that laudable system of patience and perseverance which his excellency had so kindly recommended us to adopt, and which we, indeed, were obliged to conform to as a *dernier ressort*, and to amuse ourselves in the best way we could in our unpleasant situation.

“Our house adjoined that of our landlady, a Christian, who had resided some time at Macao, and spoke the Portuguese language.

On the day after we took possession, she gave us an invitation to her house to meet a friend of hers. On our entrance, she welcomed us with great cordiality, and introduced to us a person whom, from his dress, color, and general appearance, we supposed to be a native. This was Padre Antonio, one of the Italian missionaries. He appeared to be highly delighted to see white faces, a sight which he stated to be very rare to him. Besides his own language, and Latin of course, he was acquainted with none but the Anamese, in which he was fluent. After a short time he accompanied us to our house, when we found that his garb was not the only circumstance of his similitude to the natives, for he found means, in about half an hour, to dispose of the best part of a bottle of cordial, to supply, probably, the expense of saliva produced by smoking half a dozen charges of tobacco in a china pipe which was carried by an attendant. In his person and habits, also, he was scarcely more cleanly than his converts, with many of whom of the softer sex (in-

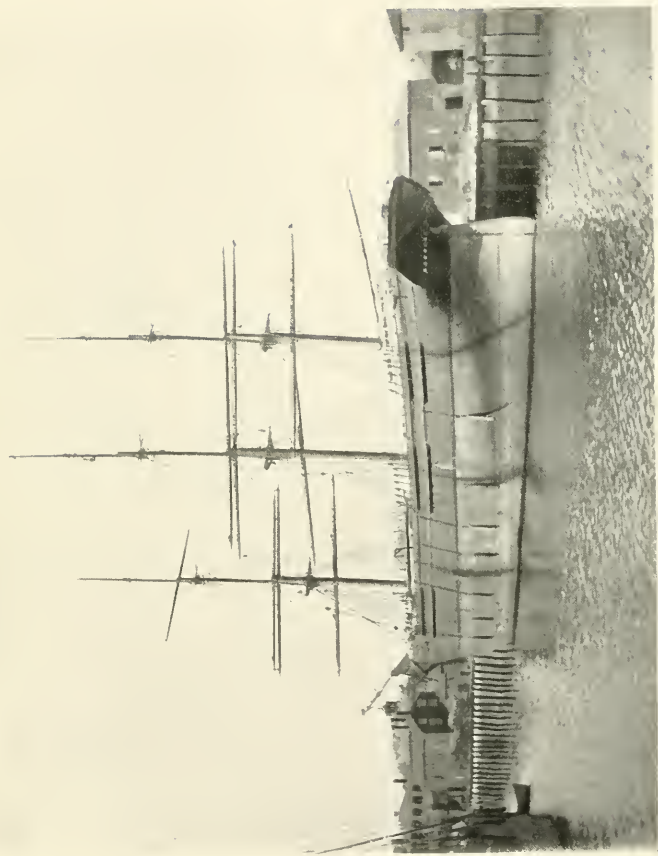
cluding our landlady) his attentions were said to be not confined to spiritualities. In short, our conclusion was that His Holiness the Pope, and the most holy 'Societas de Propaganda Fide,' had in this instance chosen an unworthy minister to forward their views.

"We were greatly annoyed in our habitation by the pertinacious curiosity of the natives, for we had no other means of avoiding their obtrusive gaze than by causing the paling to be matted on the inside. This, however, was but a temporary protection, for on the following morning we found our fence perforated in every part, like loopholes in a fort, and through each of them a shining eye levelled at us pointblank. We immediately began to repair the breaches in our works, but, like Penelope's web, the next morning we found them in the same state in which they were on the preceding one. We were finally obliged to desist, and submit with the best grace we could to this provoking intrusion.

"Almost despairing of securing a cargo, I

made a reconnoitering trip to every store and warehouse in the city, the result of which was the finding of only 800 piculs of sugar in Saigon, 10 tons of raw silk, which was held at a higher price than it was worth in Europe, 30 to 50 tons of red dyewood, also enormously dear, and some dirty cotton in small parcels.

“We were told by the linguists that the sugar then at Saigon was but a small proportion of what was in the division, and that if we would offer a liberal price the merchants would bring it in ; but we were now too well acquainted with the duplicity and roguery of the natives to listen for a moment to these idle tales.”



Ship *Mindoro*, lying at Central Wharf, Salem, 1896.

This ship was the last of the East Indiamen, and owned by Silsbee, Pickman, & Allen.

CHAPTER XXV

Trying to Conciliate the Governor—Shameless Rogues—Extortion by Officials in Paying for Measurement of Vessels.—Paying Charges at Custom-House in Copper Coin—Assailed by a Shower of Stones—Trying to See who could Hold out the Longer.

THE Journal further narrates the difficulties which Captain White still encountered in his effort to secure a cargo :

“We endeavored to further our own views by marked attention to the acting governor, trusting that if we could conciliate him, and engage him in our cause, his example and influence would effect a removal of the non-intercourse existing between us and the merchants. We accordingly invited him to our house to pay us a friendly visit, which he accepted, and appointed the next Sunday at 10 o’clock to call on us.

“According to promise, he made his appearance with great pomp and ceremony,

guarded by a detachment of soldiers with swords, pikes, and shields. Our landlady had undertaken the management of the table and old Polonio acted as master of ceremonies. After the first reception was over, the governor asked us several questions about our country, how we liked Cochinchina, etc., which we satisfactorily answered. We, however, did not fail to complain of the sugar merchants, on whom we bestowed several epithets, by no means of a flattering nature, a very considerable part of which he might with good propriety apply to himself without fear of encroaching on the property of others. He probably felt his 'withers wrung'; but how were we to know that the great 'Oung-quan-tung-kion,' the second officer in rank in the division of Donnai, and who had once the honor to represent his august sovereign at the court of Peking, was a petty dealer in sugar and other merchandise, and was leagued with other dealers to gain by fraud and extortion an undue advantage over strangers, who were in their power? His

excellency was pleased to join in the invectives against the sugar merchants, and to reiterate his advice of a former day—‘to practice patience.’ A collation was then served: we presented him some wine, of which he took part of a glass and passed the bottle to his attendants, who soon despatched it, and a bottle of cordial met the same fate. He asked us if we had any objects of curiosity to show him, to which we answered in the negative, being aware of his motive. One of the linguists, however, who, by the way, was a shameless rogue, told him that he had seen in my apartment a double-barreled fowling-piece, which I was finally obliged to produce. After admiring the workmanship, he condescended to borrow it for a shooting excursion the next day. I was obliged to comply with his desire with the best grace I could assume, and it was fortunate that on this occasion I took my final leave of it, as no other opportunity occurred, for I never saw it again, nor could all the efforts I subsequently made during my stay procure me even a

glimpse of it, his excellency affecting to believe it a present. After presenting him a few yards of scarlet broadcloth, which he very much admired, he took his leave, promising us every assistance in his power.

“On the following day, we waited on the governor in order to make arrangements for the payment of our measurement dues, as he had hinted at that subject on the preceding day. No representation we could make would induce him to receive the Spanish dollars at par, he affirming that they were worth but 18 mace in copper sepecks. We then offered to pay him in copper sepecks, which we knew we could purchase in the bazaar at the rate of 19 mace to the dollar, to which, after some demur, he acceded.

“On our return we busied ourselves in the purchase and examination of copper sepecks—a harassing and perplexing employment,—and the united efforts of four of us could enable us to count, assort, and new-string only the value of 1500 quans in more than a week. It must be confessed, how-

ever, that we were very inexpert in handling the money, but we were constrained to be very particular to prevent its being again unstrung and recounted in the custom-house, a procedure that would, as Pasqual and Joachim affirmed, subject us to great loss by reason of theft and destruction of the coin by careless handling.

“A day being appointed for the payment of what we had collected, the *Marmion’s* launch was freighted with it and despatched for the custom-house ; and it was, as may be supposed, a matter of curiosity to see a stout longboat of a ship deeply laden with coin, amounting in value to only 750 Spanish dollars, and weighing nearly two and a half tons. The sun had nearly set before all the custom-house officials assembled, and there appeared no disposition, on their part to despatch the business before them. There were much talking and mystery among them, and it was evident they were hatching some scheme to cajole us. We, finally, after repeated applications, were permitted to land the

money and bring it to the custom-house, by which time it was nearly dark. We urged them to take an account of it and give us a receipt for the amount, at which they affected to laugh, and told us that it was too late to do any business that night, but that in the morning they would again assemble and proceed to count and examine it.

“We were thunder-struck at this declaration, for it had been expressly stipulated that the money should not be again separated after we had delivered it, and an officer had attended on the part of the government while we were selecting and arranging it at the house, to supersede the necessity of such a procedure. By this time the tide in the creek had ebbed so far as to render it impossible to get out with the boat laden; otherwise, we should have taken our freight on board again and proceeded to the ships with it. In this perplexity the wretches left us, evidently enjoying our embarrassment. We had now no alternative but to let the money remain in the custom-house, which was entirely open in front, and send

on board for an armed guard from each ship. When we had posted the guard and given them proper directions, we left them. They met with no disturbance during the night, but what proceeded from an enormous serpent, at least 15 feet long, as they stated, which came out of the river, entered the court in front of the building, and came into the custom-house, and glided between the stacks of money with glaring eyes, after which they lost sight of it. From the description of the sailors, I concluded it was a boa constrictor, and probably had its den in some part of the building, where it was retiring to rest after its nocturnal excursion in search of food.

“It was not till 11 o’clock on the following day that the officers were assembled to count the money. After counting the first hundred quans, which consumed more than an hour, during which they practiced every art to vex and annoy us, rejecting every sepeck which had the least flaw in it or that was not of standard size, to decide which they were furnished with the criteria of coins

recently from the mint. When they had counted the 100 quans, what was our astonishment to find that there was an apparent loss of 10 per cent.! As the rejected coin did not appear to amount to half that sum, which on examination we found to be the case, our indignation was highly excited, and we insisted on searching the soldiers who were counting, and on them we found secreted the balance of the loss. They were not in the least disconcerted at the discovery, but laughed in our faces in the most provoking manner.

“We immediately made a report of this roguery to the head mandarin. He observed that if they were guilty, and we wished it, he would punish them. We insisted it should be done. They accordingly received a few slight strokes with a rattan. It was evidently all a farce, as they were laughing and chuckling during the infliction, if it deserves the name. Old Polonio and Joachim, who were present, now beckoned us aside, and told us that these vexations were contrived to force us to relinquish the



Launching of Ship *Fame* near Crowninshield's Wharf, Salem Harbor, 1802.

From the original painting by Geo. Ropes. Essex Institute.

plan of paying our measurement dues in the coin of the country, and to oblige us to pay them in Spanish dollars, at 18 mace each, and represented to us the great difficulties and loss we should experience in a perseverance in our intention. On hearing this we determined to complain to the governor.

“We immediately waited on his excellency, and recapitulated our grievances, reminding him of his promise of assistance and protection. From his manner we perceived that he was aware of the impositions that had been practiced, and, moreover, we had but little doubt that they were instigated by him. He declined to interfere, and thought it best to allow the officers to count the money in their own way, or to make a compromise by giving them a sum of money on condition they would count it, or permit it to pass for so many Spanish dollars, at 18 quans the dollar, and, to prevent further trouble, to pay the residue of the government dues in Spanish dollars. We objected to part of this plan, but suggested that we would withdraw all the money we had

deposited in the custom-house and apply it to other purposes, and pay the whole amount in Spanish dollars. To this he assented, provided we would pay a duty equivalent to the premium of the dollars to satisfy the officers for the trouble they had already been to, and might yet be at.

“After several journeys between the custom-house and the governor’s house, and night again approaching, we were under the necessity of succumbing to these harpies, and we delivered them the money and took their receipt for \$750. It would be tedious, in short impossible, to relate the tissue of fraud and knavery which the Cochin-Chinese daily and hourly endeavored to practice upon us.

“After we returned to our house in the evening, and while sitting in the veranda, we were assailed by a shower of stones which appeared to be thrown from the other side of the stream. The noise of the descending missiles brought our landlady to her gate, and, while we were talking with her on the subject, we were assailed by

another shower of stones from invisible hands, one of which, striking Maria on the ankle, caused a severe contusion, and another inflicted a serious wound on the arm of one of the young gentlemen. We immediately armed ourselves and proceeded to the spot whence the stones appeared to be thrown, and searched every place where we thought any person could be concealed, but without success. After our return, and while we were talking upon the subject, we were saluted with another discharge, upon which we made a second sally, but with no better success than before. We were then fain to retire inside the house and close the shutters, after which a few random stones were thrown, and we were then left to the quiet possession of our lodgings. This annoyance was repeated almost every evening afterwards, and sometimes in mid-day, but no search, inquiry, or offer of reward for the detection of the offenders could elicit any information, neither could we ever divine the cause of it. It was evident, however, that it came from the direction of the

governor's house, to whom we made complaint. He answered that he was frequently molested in the same manner, and that if we could secure the offenders and bring them to him, they should be punished, and this was all the satisfaction we could obtain.

“As we reaped no advantages by living on shore, and the sugar merchants were still inflexible, we determined to try the effect of a stratagem. We accordingly paid the balance of our measurement fees, filled our water casks, bent some of our sails, and made other preparations for sea. We removed part of our effects on board from the house, and on the 31st of October the two commanders, to add weight to the ‘note of preparation,’ removed on board. From the secrecy we had maintained in regard to our real intentions, and by the show we made in our ostensible determination, we flattered ourselves that we should bring the merchants to reasonable terms, as they would not, we presumed, permit us to depart without purchasing their commodities. A whole week, however, elapsed after this without

producing the desired effect. The same dogged indifference was apparent in them, which had annoyed us so much heretofore, during which time preparations were making for our feigned departure. We finally asked the linguists if the merchants would not come to some accommodation, rather than see us depart with no cargoes, when, to our astonishment and mortification, they answered, with the greatest coolness, that the Cochin-Chinese were too well versed in deception to be blinded by the shallow artifices we had adopted, but that they were willing to try which could hold out the longer.

“We had now little hope but in the viceroy, who was daily expected, and represented as a very different man from the present incumbent, being very attentive to Europeans, coveting their company, and always ready to assist and protect them, having been formerly mandarin of strangers at Hue. We were somewhat encouraged on hearing that the season for the new crop of sugar was approaching, when, as it was

represented, it would be plentiful and cheap, and we labored with all our might to believe as much of this as possible, as a sedative to our excited feelings.

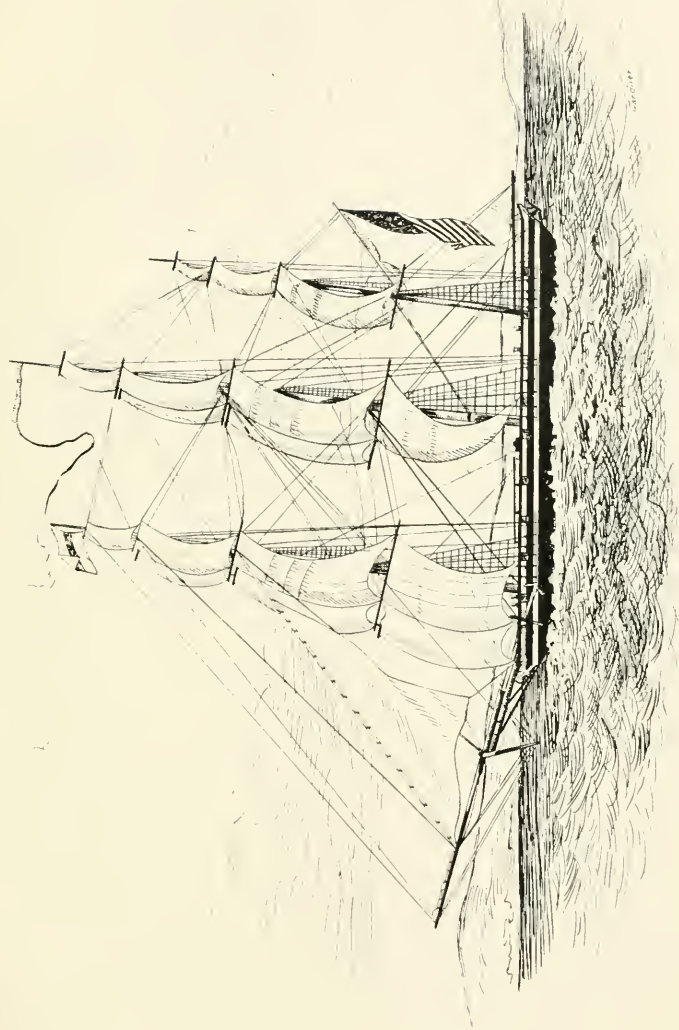
“While upon an excursion one day, in pursuit of some planks to repair one of our boats, we observed before an old woman’s stall what we supposed to be boiled turtle, and exposed for sale in square pieces; but our linguist told us it was cayman, or alligator, and bid us follow him, which we did, to an enclosure back of the building, where there were about 20 of these hideous animals, from two to 12 feet in length, walking about with their jaws bound together, and the stench from them was intolerable. The method of taking them, we were told, was by placing a number of small lines in their haunts, with which they became entangled, and fell an easy prey to the hunters.

“In a species of palm-tree, at the top is a succulent bud, in the heart of which is an unctuous white maggot, as large as one’s thumb, which is esteemed a great delicacy, and is a monopoly of the royal family and

mandarins of first distinction. A present of about a dozen of these buds, containing the worms, was sent us by the viceroy as a mark of great consideration. It is hardly necessary to say we declined eating this delicacy, but gave them to Pasqual's wife, who was highly delighted with the tid-bits that our over-fastidious taste had rejected.

“A circumstance which contributed to amuse and beguile us of many a tedious hour, and which was of great advantage to us in our researches after information concerning the country, occurred at this time. It was our introduction to Padre (Father) Joseph, the elder Italian missionary, a remarkable man of fifty, of mild and unassuming manners, of dignified yet conciliating deportment, of great zeal and correctness in the discharge of his pastoral duties, of a most blameless and self-denying life, evincing that he was honest in the sacred cause, and a man of erudition and great observation. He spoke the French language with considerable fluency, and to him I am indebted for much valuable information.

“On the 6th of December, the arrival of the viceroy was announced by the discharge of a few guns, and by the display of the Anamese flag at the citadel. . . . We embraced the earliest opportunity of paying our compliments to the viceroy. The rigid discipline and exact subordination observed in his presence were exemplified in the profound silence and abject prostrations of the courtiers. The mode of salutation is thus practiced : The visitor enters the hall from the side, at the right of the throne, and passes the ends of the platforms farthest from it, till he arrives at the open area in the front. He then faces the object of his homage, clasps his hands together, while his arms hang suspended before him ; he then raises his hands, still clasped, to his forehead, and lets them fall before him. He then unclasps his hands, falls in the attitude of genuflection, with his hands placed on the earth and touching it with his forehead. He then rises and repeats the same ceremony two, five, or eight times, the number being three, six, or nine, according to the



The celebrated Ship *George*.

Drawing from the original painting owned by Geo. H. Allen, Salem, Mass.

rank between the respective persons paying and receiving homage.

“His excellency was highly gratified with our presents. The kaleidoscope was particularly admired. I directed the linguist to inform the viceroy that this was a new invention, and had excited much admiration in Europe, and then proceeded to explain its uses and mode of application. No sooner, however, had he looked through it than he took it from his eyes and addressed a few words to the linguist, who repeated from his excellency that the instrument might be new in Europe, but was by no means rare with them. He then directed a few words to an officer in attendance, who returned in a few minutes with several kaleidoscopes covered with embossed paper. They were, it is true, of inferior workmanship, but in principle did not differ in the least degree from that of Dr. Brewster. We were, however, greatly surprised that an invention of such recent origin in Europe should be found in this secluded part of the world, especially as those we saw were evidently of Chinese manufacture.”

CHAPTER XXVI

Fight with Snakes in the Donnai River—The Viceroy's Quaint Banquet Complimentary to the American Officers—The Viceroy Helps his Guests by Cramming Food down their Throats—The White Men a Curiosity to the Ladies of Saigon—Difficulty in Obtaining Rice—Preparations to Repel Pirates—Sailing of the *Franklin*—Arrival at Salem.

HOW Captain White, after all his trials and troubles with the merchants and mandarins of Saigon, finally secured a cargo will now be told, together with other incidents connected with his long and venturesome voyage. The captain was possessed of a liberal education, and, withal, of rare literary attainments. He belonged to an old historic family, celebrated, not only for its wealth, but for all those essentials which contribute so much to give importance and standing to a community. Salem has been singularly fortunate in having had men of this stamp, who, through all the passing

generations, have been conspicuous in forming and fashioning her institutions, which have given prestige, glory, and character to her name, both at home and abroad.

“Men, high-minded men, have been
Her bulwark, stay, and strength.”

But to return to Captain White's Journal :

“The missionaries and Pasqual had frequently told us that the greatest rogue in the custom-house department—and one who had great influence—was absent on a visit to Hue, and was soon expected to return ; that to his villainy might be attributed the loss of the Macao trade and the diminution of that with China, and that he was in great favor with the government, which, notwithstanding its professions of friendship towards strangers and favor to foreign commerce, was decidedly opposed to any intercourse with them. The bearer of our letter to the authorities, or rather to M. Vannier, an official of the king, asking his aid toward effecting a reduction of the sagouetes, and to bespeak his good offices in our behalf with

the government, was the very personage who had been so represented, and his subsequent business proved that the picture which our friends had portrayed had not been caricatured. The name by which he was always known among those who spoke the Portuguese language, and by the natives who did not, was 'Aqua-ardiente,' the Portuguese name for brandy ; but whether this was a gratuitous cognomen of the Macao sailors, or was a corruption of his proper name, we did not care to inquire. The first act of this troublesome fellow was to demand an enormous fee for the transportation of the letter from Hue, which was finally commuted to a bottle of rum and a yard of red cloth. . . .

"Snakes of several species are frequently seen swimming in the river, among which are the cobra-de-capella, or hooded serpent, and the small green viper, whose bite is almost instantaneously mortal. It is said to be purblind in the daytime but very quick-sighted in the dark. One of these latter subjects, now in the Museum of the East

India Marine Society at Salem, was killed by me. It had ascended from the river and perched on the rowlock of the boat very near my hand while I was reclining under the canopy. A large cobra-de-capella was pursued by the second mate of the *Franklin*, in the boat, for about a mile. He fought with great fury and was frequently wounded by the boat hook till he finally eluded further pursuit by diving under the bottoms of the country vessels.

“At the time appointed we again waited on the viceroy. He was attended by about 40 of the officers of his own household and the government linguists—Antonio, Mariano, Joseph, and Vicente—who were native Christians. We were received with great cordiality and attention, and his excellency, throwing aside the pride, pomp, and circumstance of his exalted station, conversed very freely with us. His eager inquisitiveness and judicious selections of subjects of inquiry proved him to be a man of an enlarged mind, prompted by an unquenchable thirst for knowledge and infor-

mation ; and the judicious remarks which he made on a variety of subjects convinced us of the strength of his natural powers and the extent of his acquirements. War, politics, religion, and the customs and manners of European nations were the topics on which he dwelt with great interest ; and having heard that I held a commission in the naval service of my country he was very particular in his inquiries on the subject of naval tactics and maritime warfare. When his curiosity had been gratified in these particulars, he was pleased to pass many encomiums on the superior intelligence, skill, and power of ‘Olan,’ and with an emotion of mortified pride deplored the comparative barbarous state of his native country.

“We were told that some refreshments had been provided for us, and we were not a little amused at the ‘European style’ of this entertainment ! The table being high and the chairs low, we were obliged to relinquish this item of European fashion, and stand around the table. Antonio had pro-

cured somewhere two old knives and forks, which we made good use of in cutting our meat and conveying it to our mouths. The viceroy attended us with a bottle of the liquor we had presented him, in one hand, and a glass in the other, with which he plied us till we begged for quarter, on which he granted us a truce from this well-meant but obtrusive hospitality. His anxiety, however, that we should reap the full fruition of the pleasure before us, pressed into service his manual powers, of which we had had a foretaste on another state occasion, and he proceeded with his fingers to cram our mouths with a heterogeneous assemblage of fish, fowl, rice, pilaw, curry, pork, potatoes, sugar-plums, etc., without any regard to order or precedence, till our eyes began to start from their sockets, while the big tears coursed in rapid succession over our distended cheeks. The viceroy did not partake with us in either solids or fluids, but derived great apparent satisfaction from our exertions to please him. He promised to use his influence in persuading the holders

of the merchandise to bring and sell it to us at a reasonable rate. . . .

“There are no wheel carriages in Cochin China. Persons of distinction are carried in hammocks of cotton netting in which are a mattress and pillows to recline upon. The hammock is suspended to a pole, over which is placed a canopy. The vehicle is carried by four or six men. In consequence of the indisposition which occurred to me, I used one of these while in the country, which I shall present to the Salem East India Marine Society.¹

“In the viceroy’s palace were the different apartments of his wives and concubines, who were in gaudy dresses of various colors and loaded down with jewelry. On our approach they flocked to the verandas and gazed at us with eager curiosity through the screens and lattices, behind which they were partially shrouded. They were in high glee and frequently called to us, and, as the linguists said, invited us to approach that

¹ This vehicle may now be seen in a room in the above-named Society’s building.

they might examine our dresses, skins, etc. But when we were about to gratify the ladies by nearer approach, two stout fellows, who were their guard, drove them back and posted themselves at the doors as sentinels. As we had no wish to intrude we passed on.

“We had long suspected that a plot was in agitation among the linguists and some of the government officers to ensnare us in some troublesome dilemma, and now every day’s experience served to strengthen our suspicion. Antonio, the head linguist, who was a most consummate scoundrel, had been employed by us to purchase our sea-stock of rice from the bazaar. After appropriating to his own use the money which we had advanced him for the purchase of the rice, he undertook to be highly offended at being reprimanded for his roguery. He finally told us the rice was ready at his house, and that we had better send our boats for it. On being questioned if he had a pass for it, he answered in the affirmative. After securing the rice, we waited several hours in expectation of the officers of the custom-house,

who, he told us, would be on board before the boats could return with the rice. Night finally approached, and no officers appeared. The laws against the exportation of this article were sanguinary and rigidly enforced, and should we be deceived in regard to the pass, and the commodity be found on board, or alongside our vessels, we were aware that our lives and the property in our charge would be the forfeit. We therefore sent the boats back and disembarked the rice at Antonio's house. Scarcely had this been effected when Antonio and some of the myrmidons of the custom-house came off from the shore and inquired where the rice was. We told them it had been sent back and relanded in consequence of their non-appearance. They muttered awhile and finally went off, evidently chagrined at the failure of their diabolical plans. We subsequently discovered that no pass had ever been obtained. Our new acquaintance, Domingo, dared not make known to the viceroy the many schemes of the officers against us, as the mandarin of letters, whose

very name he professed to dread, was supposed to be at the head of the cabal.

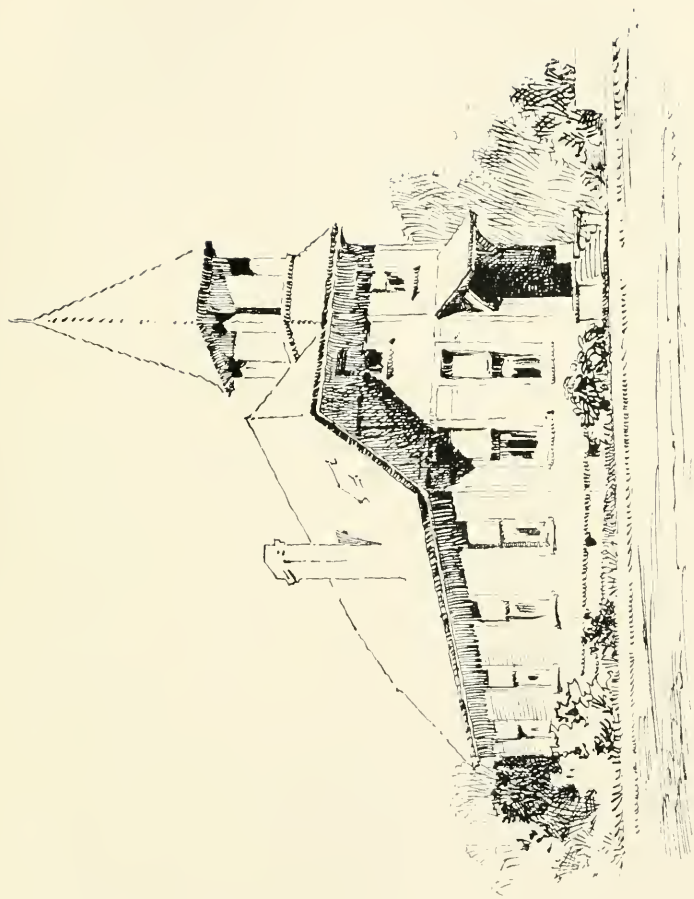
“On the 1st of January, Domingo informed us that he had used all the influence in his power towards an accommodation with the sugar merchants, but that he had only been able to bring them to agree to take 15 quans per picul, and, as we then found there was no alternative but to depart without any cargoes, we finally offered him that price for all he would bring us.

“On the 8th and 9th, Domingo brought us about 50 piculs of sugar, and nearly a week elapsed before we saw him again. He finally came and told us he could procure no more. The women brokers interfered, and determined that no irregular person should meddle with their privileges. They complained to the mandarin of letters, and he ordered Domingo to desist, and leave the women to manage their business in their own way. He, however, took care to associate his own agent, a Chinese named Chu-le-ung, with the female brokers, who stipulated to furnish us with all the sugar

in the district at the price agreed on with Domingo. Accordingly, on the 16th, we recommenced taking on board cargo.¹

“Several circumstances of a suspicious nature on the part of the natives had lately transpired, and some acts of covert hostility. We were frequently put in jeopardy by the various missiles which were frequently launched against us while walking the streets, and by no efforts we made could we ever discover the perpetrators of these outrages, excepting in one instance, when I was passing up the creek with four men in our own boat. Among other things hurled at us were several heavy butts of sugar-cane, one of which struck my hat and would inevitably have broken my head had it come in contact with it. I caught a glimpse of the fellow, and, seizing a cudgel, jumped out to my waist in water and pursued him through the rabble, who attempted to detain me. He jumped into the creek on the other side and eluded my pursuit.

¹ The *dotchin*, with which both cargoes were weighed, is now in the East India Marine Museum, presented by Captain White.



Salem Marine Bethel.

“A number of boats had been observed by the watches lurking about the ships for several nights, and once when the watch, by orders, neglected to strike the usual bells, they approached nearer. The officer of the watch declared that this was one of the royal guard-boats. On the following evening, at a late hour, while I was sitting conversing with Joachim, under a roofing of mats which he had built over the quarter-deck, the watch informed us that a large galley was silently dropping down with the tide, and was quite near us. Joachim was greatly alarmed, and assured me that it was a *ladrone*, and no doubt intended to board us. Immediate preparations were made to repel them, and the *Marmion* was cautiously hailed to put them on their guard. They, however, had noticed the pirate and were on the alert. Although our preparations had been made as silently as possible, they were discovered by the pirates, who immediately manned three or four oars, steered their vessel a little clear of us, and dropped anchor about 50 fathoms below the *Frank-*

lin. Our vigilance during the night deprived them of an opportunity to surprise us. The galley did not, however, leave the station during the whole of the next day. Towards evening we sent Pasqual on board of the pirate craft to warn them off, threatening to sink them if they did not comply. In a few moments a stout crew made their appearance from below, weighed their anchor, and pulled up the river, shouting 'Mot-quan' in a most stentorian manner.

“Joachim stated to us that several of the Macao ships had been robbed, and not infrequently some of their crews killed, by these ladrones. He related the following incident of a Macao ship, under British colors and officers, which had been robbed. The weather being extremely warm, the officers slept on deck. The pirates entered the cabin windows and took off property in specie to a great amount. Application was made to the government to assist in the detection of the robbers, but all the satisfaction that could be obtained was the promise that if the captain could find the offenders they

should be punished. It was well known that the government connived at these outrages.

“ ‘Aqua-ardiente’ had become capricious and vindictive, and would frequently, while we were taking in cargo, suddenly put a stop to all further proceedings, order the boats away, and with his crew leave the vessel. He was then only to be won back by caresses and sagouetes, for nothing could be done without his presence.

“The original schedule, in Cochin-Chinese characters, of the objects which the king wished us to bring him, I shall deposit in the Museum of the Salem East India Marine Society.

“A few days before we quitted Saigon, Padre Joseph begged of us some wine and flour. Knowing his abstemious habits, we asked him to what use he intended to apply these articles. He informed us that the king had been frequently indisposed of late, and in the event of his death, an extermination of the Christians was feared, and that the wine and flour were designed as elements to be

used at the celebration of the Eucharist, of which he intended to partake with his converts at their last extremity. No persuasion could induce this worthy, conscientious, and intrepid man to quit the country with us. His answer invariably was, that it would be disgraceful for him to desert his post in the hour of danger and leave his flock to the mercy of the wolves ; that now was the time for him to evince his zeal and sincerity in the service of his Master, and although an obscure individual, his sphere of action limited, and fate had placed him in this remote part of the globe, his conduct would be the same as if he were in the most exalted station, and the eyes of the whole world upon him.

“ On the 29th of January, 1820, both ships having taken on board less than 1700 piculs of sugar, Chu-le-ung informed us that there was no more to be procured ; but that if we would wait till the month of March, when the new crop would come in, it would then be plentiful and cheap. It had been rumored that the anticipated crop was

already disposed of. We waited on the viceroy and demanded if it were true. He verbally confirmed the report. Nothing was now left us but to prepare for immediate departure. We took occasion to confer again with the viceroy and represent the hardships of our case.

“We incidentally remarked that in the list of candidates for sagouetes we observed the ‘Mandarin of Elephants,’ and how any claims of these officers, who had never been employed, could be supported, we were at a loss to conjecture. He advised us to wait on the several personages in question, not omitting to observe, however, that the custom-house laws could not be broken but by royal edict. We subsequently saw the white-elephant mandarins, but got no satisfaction. We had to pay up. On the morning of Jan. 30 we weighed anchor and dropped down the river, and I shall, I think, be readily believed, when I state that few tears were shed by us on our departure.

“On our arrival at Batavia, we found that there was neither sugar, coffee, nor any

other article which would suit our purpose, but at the eastern ports of Java we ascertained that cargoes could be procured. We were, however, interdicted from proceeding there with any goods already on board, but must either discharge what cargoes we had previous to sailing from thence, or we might remain in Batavia and freight in Samarang, or other ports, what we wanted to complete our loadings. Remonstrance was of no avail, and it was finally arranged that I should purchase the *Marmion's* Cochin China cargo, and freight the deficiency of the *Franklin's* lading from Samarang, while the *Marmion* should proceed to that place for a full freight.

“On the 13th of March, the *Marmion* sailed for Samarang, in which ship I despatched my clerk, Mr. Bessel, to expedite my business in that place. On the 29th of April we sailed from Batavia, and on the first of May took our departure from Java Head. Our vessel being very deeply laden and the weather boisterous, our upper works strained and opened so as to admit great

quantities of water, in consequence of which we were obliged to keep one pump constantly, and both occasionally, in operation. This situation obliged us to touch at the Isle of France for repairs, where we arrived on the 22d of May. On the 25th our old consort, the *Marmion*, which had laden her cargo at Samarang, arrived. She had experienced the bad weather, which had obliged us to stop at the island, and likewise touched to repair damages.

“ May 29th, having completed repairs, we sailed for Port Louis, leaving the *Marmion* there.

“ On the 22d of June we passed the Cape of Good Hope. Our passage thence till we arrived at the latitude of 40° N. was pleasant, when, it being the 23d day of August, we encountered a most violent hurricane, by which we were dismasted.

“ On the 31st of August, 1820, arrived in Salem under jury masts, having been absent 20 months.”

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